

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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SECOND INAUGURAL

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Late Addresses of Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

Second Inaugural Speech

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

President LINCOLN's messages are always characterized by that brevity which is said to be the soul of wit; but it is said that his Inaugural to be delivered to-morrow will be even more brief than any of his previous utterances. We suppose he thinks the "situation" is so promising that it don't need the props of Rhetoric to sustain it.

Albany Eve. Journal
Mar 3, 1865

FROM SATURDAY'S SECOND EDITION

THE PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION.

PROCESSION IN A RAIN STORM.

The Avenue Thronged with People.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—The procession is forming, though a heavy rain is falling and the streets are almost passable from mud.

The avenue is filled with a dense mass of people. The ceremonies will take place in the Senate Chamber.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of the course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest, which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all.

With high hopes for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avoid it. While the Inaugural Address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation.

Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war, rather than let it perish,—and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war.

To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than restrict the Territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease.

Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same bible and prayed to the same God; and each invoked His aid against the other.

It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged.

The prayer of both should not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes.

"Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of these offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we then care there is any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in the living God always ascribe to Him?

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, and care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan: to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting Peace among ourselves, and with all Nations.

THE INAUGURATION.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—The procession reached the Capital at about a quarter to 12 o'clock, escorting the President elect. At a subsequent period the President, together with the Justices of the Supreme Court, Members and ex-Members of Congress, Foreign Ministers and other persons of distinction, assembled in the Senate Chamber. There the President elect took the oath of office, pronouncing it by an address.

Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office on the eastern portico, when the President delivered his Inaugural Address.

There was a very large attendance, and the scene was one of marked interest.

Albany Eve Journal
3/4/62

THE PRESIDENT'S Inaugural Address.

MARCH 4, 1865.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation.

Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest.

All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained.

Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men

should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged.

The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh."

If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both north and south this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

Tendly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

The Committee of Arrangement for the Inauguration of President Lincoln had ordered the performance of Mr. Janvier's national song, "God Save Our President," as a part of the ceremonial. It was performed by the Marine Band immediately on the conclusion of the Inaugural address. We publish the words as follows:

GOD SAVE OUR PRESIDENT.

A NATIONAL SONG.

BY FRANCIS DE HAES JANVIER.

I.

All hail! unfurl the Stripes and Stars!
The banner of the free!
Ten times ten thousand patriots greet
The shrine of Liberty!
Come, with one heart, one hope, one aim,
An undivided band,
To elevate, with solemn rites,
The ruler of our land!

II.

Not to invest a potentate
With robes of majesty;
Not to confer a kingly crown,
Nor lend a subject knee.
We bow beneath no sceptred sway;
Obey no royal nod;
Col' umbia's zone, erect and free,
Kneel only to their God!

III.

Our ruler boasts no titled rank;
No ancient, princely line;

No regal right to sovereignty,
Ancestral and divine.
A patriot, at his country's call
He pondering to her voice;
One of the people, he becomes
A sovereign by our choice!

IV.

And now, before the mighty pile
We've reared to Liberty,
He swears to cherish and defend
The charter of the free!
God of our country! seal his oath
With Thy supreme assent.
God save the Union of the States!
God save our President!

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

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From the Boston Transcript.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL is a singular State paper,—made so by the times. No similar document has ever before been published to the world. It is founded on no precedents as to form or subject-matter. In this lies its peculiarity. In this also lies its worth. Both of these—its exceptional character and its special theme—furnish hints for soberest reflection. It is addressed to the public mind; that portion of it which is seriously and profoundly thoughtful. It is addressed to the public heart; that portion of it which is warm with the noblest emotions and quickened by the humanest sympathies and sensibilities. Its omissions, even in the way of reference, are remarkable. The chief magistrate of one of the mightiest nations of the globe enters up-

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on a new term of service, repeats the binding oath of his high office. He speaks — through the flashing communications of the telegraph — to his millions of constituents — to a great, free republic.

Thus speaking he has no choice of topics. He may not — if he would utter words for the hour — indulge in any wide survey of affairs; enter upon any extended range of discourse, however concise in statement. He may not descant on foreign relations, on home enterprises, on questions relating to the resources of the land, its growing riches, its future expansion — questions directly bearing on the interests which ordinarily are quick to invite attention and demand discussion. He may not do this — and why? Because a subject, transcending all these, towers before him in gigantic proportions, and presses itself upon him with overpowering weight, as the only subject of which he can treat; the only subject of which the country desires, or ought chiefly to desire, to hear. And that subject — how strange and how unwontedly momentous it is — how crowded with the history of the past — how strongly pulsating with the anxieties of the present — how immense as prophetic of the future!

We call it "*the war!*" It is more than any war ever was. "The war" only interprets it, debates it, strives to settle the radical antagonisms involved in it. Summoned once more to the Executive chair, to be a leader in such a crisis of the world's life, no wonder the President was lifted above the level on which political rulers usually stand, and felt himself in the very presence of the awful mystery of Providence. He clearly and solemnly states the great issue — centuries have been making up, — which is forced upon this generation for settlement. The despised and the oppressed — the rights of humanity outraged in their degradation and bondage — for these the day of adjudication and recompense has come; and this vast, rich, populous republic, must do justice to the slave to save itself — not only its territory, its wealth, its institutions for the hitherto dominant class — but its very life. Well may the President call the people, as it were, into the Court of the King of Kings, and show them their accountability and their duty towards Him. Well will it be for the people to heed this call, and in all humility, all courage, all the devotedness of stern principles and profound convictions, understand and finish the work given them to do, to atone for the past and to conquer the grand future. The closing sentences of the Ad-

dress accepted in the fulness of their weighty meaning, and the spirit of them inspiring the loyalty of the nation, the conflict will not only soon end, but the ending will be the beginning of a new and blessed era alike for the victors and the vanquished.

From The New York Evening Post.

MARRIAGE AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

THE marriage records kept among the Freedmen since their emancipation furnish the most curious and instructive chapter of their history. Nothing so conclusively declares the existing stage of their civilization as this.

The law of marriage was given to the freed people by the Secretary of War, in Special Order No. 15, issued by Brigadier-General L. Thomas, Adjutant-General United States army, dated Natchez, Miss., March 18, 1864. By this order, the entire supervision of this matter was committed, for the Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas, to Colonel John Eaton, Jr., the general superintendent for freedmen, who authorized ordained ministers, who seemed unobjectionable, to solemnize the marriages of this people, and instructed them in the manner of it, and also prescribed that returns should be made upon careful examination of each case.

These returns were to be made a matter of permanent record, to be kept for public inspection in the office of the post superintendent, and a neat certificate of the marriage was to be issued to the parties joined in these sacred rites.

From this record kept by the post-superintendent at Vicksburg, Captain J. H. Weber, the facts and generalizations below are made. The first marriage under the new law was distinguished. It was celebrated in the Presbyterian Church, on Sunday, April 10, 1864, by Chaplain J. A. Hawley, Sixty-third regiment United States colored infantry, and the happy man who led off in this new order of things was a reputed son of a former Governor of Virginia, named William Smith. It was extensively noticed in the papers as a "marriage in high life."

Since that time there have been recorded at Vicksburg fourteen hundred and fifty-six marriages, before the first of November

LINCOLN'S MESSAGE.

The Second Inaugural Delivered By the Martyred President.

Yesterday was the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, who came into the world February 12, 1809. One has but to read a premeditated utterance of his made in war time to find the mind refreshed as to the potent character and intellectuality of the man. So here is a copy of his second inaugural, delivered on March 4, 1865, a few weeks before his death:

Fellow Countrymen: At this second appearance to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of the course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

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Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest.

All knew that this interest was, some how, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained.

Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bibles, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged.

The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purpose. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh."

If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offenses came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

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The Second Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln.



WHEN Abraham Lincoln pronounced his second inaugural address (March 4, 1865) he had undergone an experience such as few men have been fated to know. Four years earlier, in 1861, he had come to the Presidency, a man untried by large responsibilities and little known to the masses of the American people. The Republic seemed upon the verge of dissolution. State after State was seceding. The Treasury was nearly bankrupt. All was confusion, hopelessness, and chaos. Then had come the gigantic struggle, with its appalling expenditure of human life, its defeats and disasters, its imperfect victories, and the frightful strain upon both brain and nerves which made the great President's profoundly melancholy nature often reach the very verge of blank despair. Politicians endeavored to belittle him. His generals in the field again and again displayed incompetence. The opposition press attacked him with fierce malignity, ridiculing him as a "baboon," and charging this most tender-hearted of men with levity, and with playing the clown in the face of ghastly carnage and impending ruin.

But early in 1865 a marked change had taken place in the progress of events. The victories of Grant and Sheridan and Farragut had given strong hope of coming peace. Lee had already asked for terms which looked to a surrender. The masses of the people had come to learn that this gaunt, long-suffering, homely man—"the first American," as Lowell called him—belonged to them, and was one who had received from God those gifts which enabled him to lead his people out of the depths of dark despair to the heights of glorious achievement. And so, having once more been chosen to the Presidency, Lincoln came forth upon the east front of the Capitol to address his countrymen for a second time. All through the morning, sullen clouds had veiled the sky; but as the familiar figure, tall and clad in black, appeared before the people, the gray masses parted in the heavens and the sun broke through them, a propitious omen for the future.

Then Lincoln spoke the few and simple words in whose simplicity one finds that eloquence and depth of feeling which stir us in some of the loftiest passages of the Scriptures. Its first sentences are rhythmically halting; but toward the close the style rises to a surging music as of some great organ—simple still, yet indescribably majestic. As has been written of it: "The simplicity is the simplicity of strength, and the ease is the ease of conscious power; while throughout the words, whose cadences run on in an unbroken harmony, there is a certain loftiness of diction, especially when a coloring of metaphor is

part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

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The Almighty has His own purposes. "Wo unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but wo to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the wo due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it shall continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

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Island in the Mississippi was selected as the scene of the duel. The day was clear and cold, and while the seconds were arranging the preliminaries Lincoln, to warm himself, began mowing the grass. When Shields, said Douglas, saw the giant figure swinging a long sword like a scythe, he leaned against a huge elm, and fainted with fright! And so ended the bloodless duel.

During the years 1859-60 I frequently met Mr. Lincoln when his legal engagements called him to Chicago, where I was publishing and editing a literary journal called the *Record*, with an office in Portland Block. On the sixth story of the large Dearborn Street building, the sculptor, Leonard W. Volk, had his studio. I happened to meet Mr. Lincoln on the stairway, about the middle of April, 1860, and he informed me that he was giving sittings to Mr. Volk for a portrait bust; when he came down he would stop and see my sanctum. He did so, and as he looked around at the large, carpeted room, with its well-filled book-case, some attractive pictures, and busts of Shakespeare and Burns, he said: "Well, I never saw an editorial office like this before. It don't seem to resemble my Springfield law shop that you saw two winters ago." He

was particularly interested in the busts on learning that I had brought them from Stratford and Ayr respectively, saying: "They are my two favorite authors, and I must manage to see their birthplaces some day, if I can contrive to cross the Atlantic." By appointment, Mr. Lincoln stopped the following morning at my office for me to accompany him, and we went up the four pair of stairs together in a trial of speed. His long legs took him three steps at a stride; but I was quicker with my shorter stride of two steps, so we arrived at the goal neck and neck, to the intense amusement of the astonished sculptor who awaited us at the head of the stairs.

The previous day Volk had made a plaster cast of Lincoln's face (now in the National Museum at Washington, together with the casts of his hands which he made later), to aid him in making his well-known bust. During the hour that Lincoln remained in the studio, he poured out an almost unceasing stream of drolleries, while Volk was modelling the clay. My recollection is that Lincoln gave the sculptor six or more sittings of from one to several hours in duration. The original plaster bust is now in the possession of the sculptor's only son, Douglas Volk, a well-known painter, whose present home is in

*Original Manuscript of
second Inaugural presen-
ted to Major John Hay.*

Ad Lincoln

April 10. 1865

Hyman

Yellow Creek

1

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the sword, as was said three thousand years
ago, so still it must be said "the judgments
of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice towards none;
with charity for all; with firmness in the
right, as God gives us to see the right,
let us strive on to finish the work we
are in; to bind up the nation's wounds;
to care for him who shall ^{have} borne the bat-
tle, and for his widow, and his orphan—
to do all which may achieve and cherish a just
and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with ^{all nations} ~~the world~~.

Executive Mansion.

Washington, March 15 1865

Thurlow Weed, Esq

My dear Sir,

Every one likes a compliment, thank you for yours on my little notification speech, and on the recent Inaugural Address. I expect the latter to wear as well as — perhaps better than — anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the attempt to save them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world, it is a point which I thought needless to be told; and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it, falls most directly on ^{myself} ~~on you~~, I thought others might offer for me to tell it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

oratory." So the member resumed, talking vigorously for five minutes or more, in behalf of his constituent, an applicant for some office. The President, looking critically on the right side of his face and then on the left, remarked, in an interested manner: "Why, John, how close you do shave." That was the way in which he baffled the office-seekers; and although the Congressman was disappointed, of course, he could not avoid laughing. After his departure, I said, "Mr. President, is that the way you manage the politicians?" and he answered: "Well, Colonel, you must not sup-

pose you have all the strategy in the army."

When we arrived at the hospital, Mr. Lincoln saw, or thought he saw, a strong resemblance between my brother and his favorite son Willie, who had recently died. This interested him so deeply that the following afternoon Mrs. Lincoln drove out with us, and she too saw the likeness. During the fortnight that my brother survived, the President visited him several times, and Mrs. Lincoln sent the young soldier little delicacies made by herself. This incident is introduced chiefly to illustrate the fact that the President

Lincoln's Second Inaugural

LINCOLN'S second inaugural, after his reelection to the presidency, showed by its contrast to the first—excellent as that was for its time and purpose—how much the man had grown in his sense of the presence of God's hand in the struggle for the preservation of American nationality. Its most memorable passage runs:

"The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come;

but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery was one of those offenses which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern that there is any departure from those divine attributes which believers in the living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, devoutly do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may pass away; yet if it is God's will that it continue until the wealth piled by bondsmen by two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so it must still be said, that 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for those who shall have borne the battle, and for the widow and orphans; to do that which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The Conclusion of His Second Inaugural.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we

discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in the living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

WORDS OF LINCOLN.

The closing paragraphs of Lincoln's second inaugural address may easily serve as a text for the present times. The great powers of the world have just concluded a conference that must have a lasting effect upon the peace of civilization. Therefore let the words of the martyred President be recalled. He said:

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The American delegates to the Washington conference entered that parley in the frame of mind desired by Lincoln. They had malice toward none and charity for all. When diplomats get together to barter and heckle it may be in the name of peace, but it really spells war. When Christian gentlemen gather with no malice in their minds and only broad charity in their hearts there is no paring or chafing. America is willing to go more than half way in achieving the just and enduring peace which Lincoln so eagerly desired.

Were Lincoln in the White House today he would have gone even farther than did the present administration to ease the world of its naval and military burdens.

S. A. W. G.

San Francisco

2 - 12 - 21

gathering

(incomplete)

guage. The most literary man present was also Lincoln's greatest admirer, young John Hay. To him it seemed that Mr. Everett spoke perfectly and 'the old man' gracefully for him."

* * * *

MR. Nicolay, in his Century article, refers to four possible sources from which the closing phrase might have been drawn, "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth," one of them a speech by Theodore Parker "delivered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Boston, May 29, 1850."

In Jesse Weik's recently issued book, "The Real Lincoln," based on much research and chiefly on information furnished by Mr. Weik over many years by Mr. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner from 1843 to the end (the partnership was never dissolved, except, in the language of Mr. Herndon, "by the bullet of John Wilkes Booth in April, 1865"), he tells the following story: Mr. Weik and Mr. Herndon, searching through Mr. Lincoln's papers, came across a bundle with the famous "When you can't find it anywhere else look into this" in Lincoln's handwriting, on the wrapper. Among the contents were two printed sermons by Theodore Parker, delivered, says Mr. Weik, "in the summer of 1858." (Mr. Nicolay says at a convention in 1850—perhaps both are right, as sermons have sometimes been delivered more than

once.) "Herndon told me" (quoting from Weik's "The Real Lincoln") "that these pamphlets were sent to him by Parker and that he was so deeply impressed by them that he turned them over to Lincoln. The latter folded and carried them in his pocket to read. 'That he did read them,' said Herndon, after he had opened the packages, 'is shown by the fact that he indorsed them by marking several paragraphs with his pen.' He then called my attention to two paragraphs around which Lincoln had drawn his pen. In one of them, Parker said: 'Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people.' In another place which Lincoln had underscored, he said: 'Slavery is in flagrant violation of the institutions of America—direct government, over all the people, by all the people, for all the people.' Herndon insisted it was from this source that Lincoln drew the inspiration for the closing paragraph of his famous Gettysburg address."

Everything that has to do with Lincoln is of interest to vast numbers of the American people. All

the minutiae of his life are of value, and especially all that bears upon his utterances, and of all his utterances the Gettysburg address ranks the highest. For thirty years Lincoln had been a thinker and an orator, the putting together of effective phrases came easy to him, but never had he so effectively grouped words as in this great speech, delivered in a few moments, its echo undying, its rhythmical cadences still lingering in the hearts of the people. (Copyright, 1923, in United States and Great Britain by North American Newspaper Alliance. All rights reserved.)

by whom the offence came. Shall we discern there
in any departure from these divine attributes
which the believer in a living God always
ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope— fervently
do we pray— that this mighty scourge of
war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God
wills that it continue, until all the wealth
piled by the bondman's two hundred and
fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk,
and until every drop of blood drawn with the
lash, shall be paid by another drawn with
the sword, as was said ~~thirteen~~ ^{thirty} years
ago, so still it must be said "the judgments
of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice towards none;
with charity for all; with firmness in the
right, as God gives us to see the right,
let us strive on to finish the work we
are in, to bind up the nation's wounds;
to care for him who shall ^{have} borne the battle,
and for his widow, and his orphan,
to do all which may achieve and cherish a just
and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with ^{all nations} ~~the world~~

PHOTOGRAPH OF ORIGINAL OF LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

March 4, 1865.

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all the thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the

conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astonishing. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It seems strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged.

The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that slavery is one of the offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as it was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

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In the new construction of Lincoln tomb are four bronze tablets. The Converse outline of Lincoln's life, the farewell address, the Gettysburg speech, and extract from the second inaugural. Every day guests are asking for copies and we give the second inaugural below, in the form, punctuation and all:

"The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh? If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came. Shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

From Lincoln's second inaugural, March 4, 1865.

6. 10. 11 33

On the wall of the corridor opposite of the Converse tablet is a part of the second inaugural as follows:

"The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense come. Shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Foudly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

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—FROM LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL, MARCH 4, 1865.

These copies of the tablets will be in great demand among collectors and each should be saved for future use. Guests daily write off one or more of these for reference to send to some one interested. Reprinted here by request.

James T. Ford

*Week by Week
8-22-35*

Girard's Talk of the Day

*Judge Ladner's Battle to
Keep Poison Out of
Water — Old Virginia
Pleases Ex-Chief Justice
— Veteran Delawarean
Calls Lincoln Plagiarist
— Memory of Christy
Mathewson Recalled.*

HERE is another view of Lincoln:
"I am of the opinion that Lin-
coln was somewhat of a
plagiarist."

Thus wrote to me S. T. Smitheman,
Wyoming, Del., who says he is 88 and
once knew well that part of West
Philadelphia locally designated as
Mantua Village.

Why does he say the Emancipator
borrowed his two best known
phrases?

At Gettysburg in 1863 Lincoln's
immortal peroration was, "that the
Government of the people, by the
people, for the people shall not per-
ish from the earth."

In the U. S. Senate in 1830 Daniel
Webster said:

"The people's Government, made
for the people, made by the people
and answerable to the people."

* * * * *

LINCOLN'S second best phrase
was in his second inaugural ad-
dress, 1865:

"With malice toward none, with
charity to all."

But in 1838 ex-President J. Q.
Adams wrote to Bronson:

"In charity to all mankind, bearing
no malice or ill-will to any human be-
ing."

These parallels are interesting, but
not convincing. And even if Lincoln
did borrow ideas he as surely im-
proved upon their expression.

* * * * *

With Malice Toward None

LINCOLN had a good opinion of his own Second Inaugural and prophesied correctly about it. Writing to Thurlow Weed on March 15, 1865, he said: "Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced." His expectation has been realized. With the exception of his great definition of democracy, "Of the people, by the people, for the people"—a phrase which incidentally is not original with him but goes back to old John Wycliffe—no words of Lincoln have worn so well as his appeal to the American people to be firm in the right, as God has given them to see the right, with malice toward none, with charity for all.

It was not the only occasion on which Lincoln prayed, so to speak, to be saved from malice. He penned the Second Inaugural a short six weeks before his death, and we are free to suppose that a dim foreboding may have lent to his words the exaltation of an unstudied Farewell Address. But there is a letter of his to Cuthbert Bullitt, written nearly three years earlier, not long after the capture of New Orleans, and dealing with reconstruction in Louisiana. His concluding words are: "I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

Too vast for malicious dealing—can any words better sum up the whole duty of governments and of chiefs of state? The responsibilities of government are at all times too vast a thing for malice, or for the appearance of malice. This is even more emphatically true in troubled and anxious times. A difficult situation may well become an alarming situation if the steersman, not the passengers, goes in for rocking the boat; if the captain on the bridge surrenders to a vocabulary of panic. It does not promote national confidence or national discipline when Administration spokesmen rail against aristocratic anarchists' unleashing their bulldogs of the press as part of a general conspiracy against the nation's well-being. It does not promote domestic peace if legitimate democratic criticism of government policy is always to be denounced as Fascism, and a straightforward, open, democratic protest becomes Sabotage.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Today there are loose in the world the doctrines of hate and war. Irreconcilable ideologies of conflict agree in only one thing, and that is in preaching war to the knife. In our old democratic way of life, a victorious majority is charged with a trust to be administered for the benefit of the whole body of the people. The new doctrines of domestic war love to play with the thought of beating down minorities and stamping out opposition and crushing enemies and storming hostile camps. It is not the language of civil governance, but of war; and this at a time when men's nerves are on edge and panic may so easily be let loose.

Ours is a situation which calls for the magnanimity, the charity, the humorous tolerance which Lincoln displayed in the dread ordeal of an actual Civil War. It is a situation, too, which offers the democratic statesman a magnificent chance for his permanent place in history. Precisely in this din of rival Red and White ideologies, preaching progress by extermination is the opportunity for the greatest democracy in the world to reassert its faith in the democratic procedure of live and let live. Such a bold rejection of the new war cries by the head of the American democracy might well act as a cleansing thunderstorm in a world atmosphere surcharged with the poison vapors of hate and violence. Contrariwise, if the biggest and richest and safest of all democracies goes in for the terminology and techniques of social hate, and the democratic salt loses its savor, it is a sad outlook for free government anywhere.

March 24, 1938

Mr. Arthur Lee Bailhache
2519 Octavia St.
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Mr. Bailhache:

You will please find enclosed some copies of Lincoln Lore I promised I would send you upon reaching my office.

You may remember that we met at the time of my Lincoln address in San Francisco and if I recall correctly you suggested that it was your grandfather who set the type for the second inaugural address and that you still have one of the original copies.

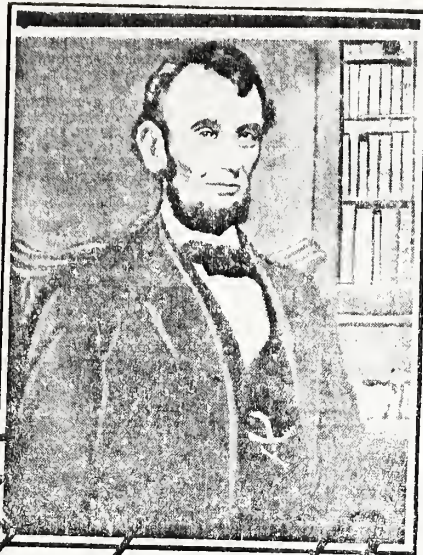
I am wondering if you would make this statement in writing so that I might keep it in my files as I think it would be very valuable for us to have here information relative to the setting of the type for the address.

I remember with much pleasure my visit to San Francisco.

Very truly yours,

LAW:BS
L.A. Warren

Director



Abraham Lincoln

great American Statesman and Patriot

born February 12th, 1809 Died April 15th, 1865

*As timely today, as in 1865 these words
from Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address....*

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nations wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan,-to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

**BUY WAR SAVINGS BONDS AND
STAMPS AT WALKER'S**

"Let us have Faith that Right makes might
and in that Faith let us to the end do our
duty as we understand it."



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240 FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

6 1/2 inch cut

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Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

(A COPY FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXT)

Fellow-countrymen At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, as is well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all ~~the~~ thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It seems strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged.

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With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves and with all nations.

March 4, 1865.

4. LINCOLN

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 840

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

May 14, 1945

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

(A Copy from the Original Text)

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One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right do to more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of the offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled up by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

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A. LINCOLN

Real Team Spirit

Thoughtfulness too often goes unnoticed. And, since thoughtfulness itself is not the commonest thing in everyday life, the *MOUTHPIECE* is happy to print the following letters—even without the knowledge of the individuals concerned . . .

CHICAGO, November 26, 1946

Mr. H. G. Walsh
Dictaphone Corporation
MINNEAPOLIS

Dear Hugh:

I think of you fellows up in Minneapolis often. It gives me particular pleasure to see your names in quota performance records. Your name for October performance really made me feel good. Congratulations, I hope you're on the list every month.

You know, you fellows who come up through the Service Department have a special reason for making quota. Whether you know it or not you're carrying the banner, and incidentally the hopes of all other Servicemen throughout the country, because if you fellows who have come up through the Service Department don't make good it becomes successively harder for other Servicemen to get the opportunity. I'm not worried about any of you fellows up in Minneapolis not leading the way for other Servicemen to follow in your footsteps. You not only can do it but are doing it. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
F. I. Peterson
District Manager

FIP/gh

* * *

CHICAGO, November 26, 1946

Mr. Craig Biddle, Jr.
Dictaphone Corporation
PHILADELPHIA

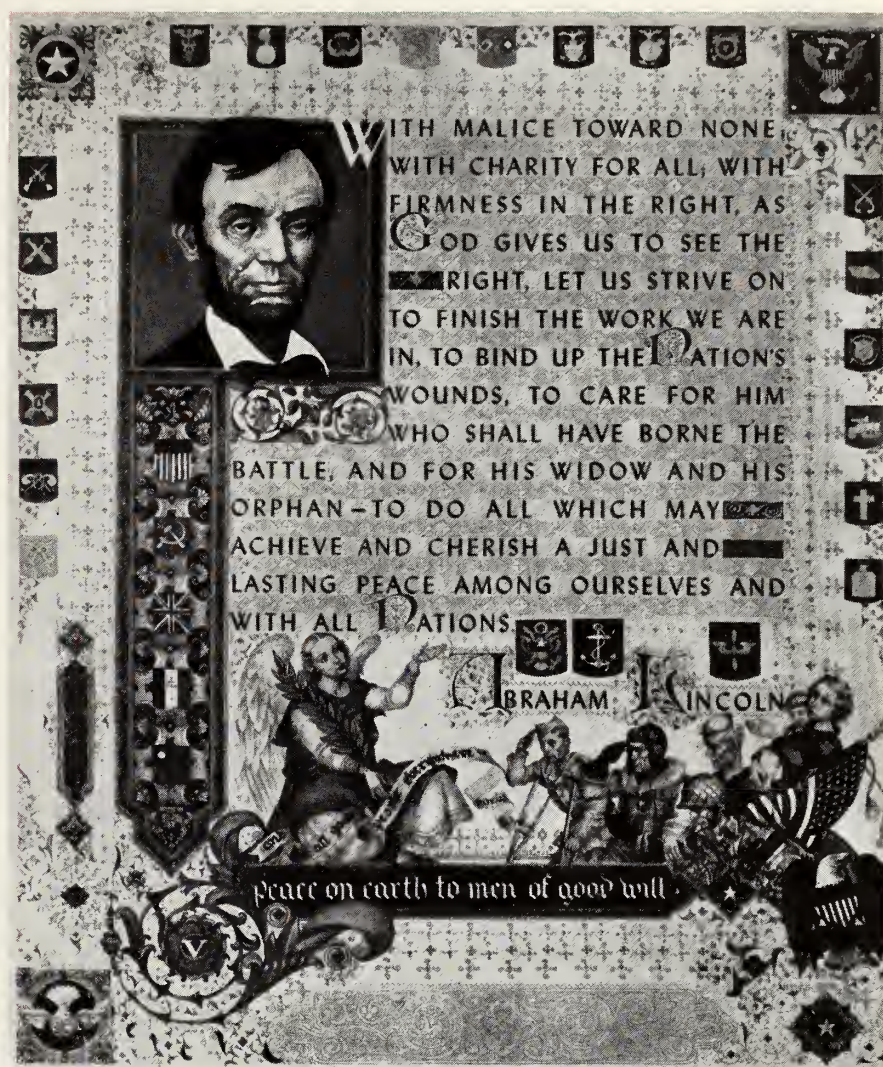
Dear Mr. Biddle:

I've never had the pleasure of meeting you personally. I hope some day that I will have that opportunity. I'm sure we will meet at the next Dictaphone Achievement Club whenever it's held. 627.1% of your monthly quota is a very fine job. I just wanted to let you know that such performances by individual men do not go unnoticed by other managers throughout the Corporation. Congratulations on a swell job.

Sincerely yours,
F. I. Peterson
District Manager

FIP/gh

...To Bring Lasting Peace...



But for the stimulus of coincidence, this story would probably not appear in the *MOUTHPIECE*.

One November morning your Editor read a two-column article in *TIDE* about Sidney Hollaender, President of Ever Ready Label Corporation. It was an interesting article about an interesting personality. Not the least of the interesting things about it was the following paragraph:

"His passion for work both amazes and dismays Hollaender's employees. After a week-end at home with his Dictaphone it is not unusual for Hollaender to appear in the office Monday morning with about a dozen Dictaphone cylinders in his arms."

News lead for this particular article was an unusual Times Square billboard sponsored by Mr. Hollaender's Ever Ready Label Corporation.

Shortly after reading the *TIDE* article, your editor received a letter from Ever Ready. Accompanying it was a full color reproduction of the billboard, artwork by famed painter and caricaturist Arthur Szyk, copy by Abraham Lincoln. As an outdoor sign it is almost entirely lacking in commercialism—but its purpose, according to the sponsor, is part of a campaign to "bring lasting peace consciousness to the people of America." It is reprinted here as a minor bit of cooperation in that same effort—with our thanks to its sincere sponsor.

Corrected Copy 1977
Baker & Company

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Excerpts From the Original Document
Arranged by
Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director
Lincoln National Life Foundation

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago,
all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war.
All dreaded it—
all sought to avert it.

While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place,
devoted altogether to saving the Union without war,
insurgent agents were in the city
seeking to destroy it without war—
seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation.

Both parties depreciated war;
but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive;
and the other would accept war rather than let it perish.
And the war came.

* * * * *

Neither party expected for the war,
the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained.
Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict
might cease with, or even before, the contest itself should cease.
Each looked for an easier triumph,
and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God;
and each invokes His aid against the other.
It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask
a just God's assistance
in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces;
but let us judge not,
that we be not judged.

The prayers of both could not be answered—
that of neither has been answered fully.
The Almighty has his own purposes.

* * * * *

Fondly do we hope—
fervently do we pray—
that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away.
Yet, if God wills
that it continue, until all the wealth piled up
by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil
shall be sunk,
and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash
shall be paid
by another drawn with the sword,
as was said three thousand years ago,
still it must be said,
"The judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

With malice towards none;
with charity for all;
With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,
let us strive on to finish the work we are in;
to bind up the nation's wounds;
To care for him who has born the battle,
and for his widow and his orphan—
to do all which may achieve and cherish
a just and lasting peace,
among ourselves and with all the nations.

COMPLIMENTS OF
THE LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

203

270

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Excerpts From the Original Document

Arranged by

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director
Lincoln National Life Foundation

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COMPLIMENTS OF
THE LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

3 copies of Lincoln's
y sent us.

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y yours,

Percy Andrus
Percy Andrus
L

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SIC * 1960

Mr. Fred H. Brown, Representative
The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company
730 Associated Realty Building
Los Angeles, California

My dear Mr. Brown:

We are very appreciative of the copies of Lincoln's
Second Inaugural Address you so graciously sent us.

Have you noticed that the word "deprecated" has been
misspelled. It appears in the third stanza.

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Percy Andrus

Ethel Percy Andrus
Principal

PERMANENT COMMITTEE

FOR



Broadcast Music, Inc. 589 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. PLaza 9-1500

November 2, 1961

To Messrs. Gerald McMurtry ✓
Ralph Newman
Clyde Walton

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a rather poor copy of what I believe to be a rare broadside of the Second Inaugural Address. I have had it in my collection for a number of years.

Recently I dug it up and located, without too much effort, 76 variations from the accepted text as printed in the "Works"--mostly punctuation, although there are four words omitted in the broadside, three words added and three words switched, etc. It gives every indication of being a stenographic job and not being taken from a hand-out.

I asked Lloyd Dunlap to do some research on it and enclose a copy of a letter I have received from him. Can you come up with any facts about it? It does not agree with any newspaper publication I have in my files. Perhaps this is the answer.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Carl Haverlin'.

Carl Haverlin

Enclosures 2

PERMANENT COMMITTEE
FOR
THE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES DEVISE

Established by Public Law 246, 84th Congress

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

L. QUINCY MUMFORD
Librarian of Congress
Chairman, ex officio

FREDERICK D. G. RIBBLE

ETHAN A. H. SHEPLEY

JEFFERSON B. FORDHAM
VIRGIL M. HANCHER

October 23, 1961

Dear Carl:

The inaugural broadside is indeed a beauty. It is also a tough nut to crack. I have done some looking and I pass these observations on.

(1) It is not by any classification procedure that I can think of, in the Library's collections. (2) As it does not specify "the late" President Lincoln's remarks, it obviously is an item prepared within days, perhaps hours of the delivery of the Address. (3) I am trying to identify it by this approach. This was prepared, I think, as something to be sold. I am therefore searching the copyright entries for the major court districts for the period immediately following March 4, 1865. I have found at least two instances of Lincoln's address being entered for copyright. Neither of these, unfortunately, is the one we want. I suppose that what is copyrighted, is not the text but the format, etc. I am also searching as many newspaper accounts as possible, hoping to find the unique capitalization and punctuation which fits the broadside. I wish I had more to send you at this time.

I hope to see you Wednesday night.

Cordially,

Rlyd

Lloyd A. Dunlap
Administrative Editor

Mr. Carl Haverlin
President
Broadcast Music Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

LAD:lpf



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

August 27, 1964

Dear Gerald:

It is good to learn from your letter of August 21 that several rarities in your book collection have been brought to light.

I agree that the "Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865" (Monaghan 600) is exceptionally rare. Nevertheless, the Library of Congress is fortunate enough to have two copies of this first edition.

We did not know of all the copies that you have located. The Carroll A. Wilson copy was sold at auction in 1952 for \$1,850; and it was described in American Book Prices Current as "one of 4 copies." Perhaps this count included, in addition to Wilson's, the two copies in the Library of Congress and the copy (not on your list) which Monaghan locates at the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Roy".

Roy P. Basler
Director

Mr. R. Gerald McMurtry
Director
The Lincoln National Life
Foundation
Fort Wayne, Indiana

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The University Libraries

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47405

THE LILLY LIBRARY

September 8, 1964

Mr. R. Gerald McMurtry
Director
The Lincoln National Life Foundation
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Mr. McMurtry:

Dr. Byrd sent your letter on to us at Lilly and certainly we can confirm the fact that we do have Monaghan 600. Ours measures 9 1/8" X 5 7/8" which is a bit larger than the Illinois Historical Society copy described by Monaghan.

Mr. Randall says that Goodspeed's found about five more copies some little time ago and suggests that you write to them.

Do let us know the results of your survey.

Sincerely,

Geneva Warner
Geneva Warner
Curator of Special Collections

GW/trb

CARL HAVERLIN
8619 LOUISE AVENUE
NORTHRIDGE, CALIFORNIA 91324
—
DICKENS 3-2218

R. Gerald McMurtry
Lincoln National Life Foundation
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Gerald:

A s usual RGN is right . I do have^a copy of the
1865 Inaugural Address and know of only those copies you
mention in your letter of August 21. I would venture that
it is the third in point of rarity. I know of only two copies
of the Sycamore printing of the House Divided Speech and
three of the first printing of the G. Address. If you would
like one of my famous intuitive bibliographical hunches in
relation to the piece you write about I'll say that I think
the rarity of the 2nd Inaugural results from the fact it was
never printed for general distribution but as a press handout
only. That is to say I think it may have been limited by the
size of the press corps to 100 copies or less. I have no
fact to back up this assumption. But if I'm not right then
why is the 1st Inaugural relatively common? In all three
printings -- House , Senate, Republican.

I'll appreciate your thoughts on my assumption.

Sincerely


Carl Haverlin



Its name indicates its character

The Lincoln National Life Foundation

Fort Wayne, Indiana

R. GERALD McMURTRY
DIRECTOR

September 17, 1964

Mr. Michael J. Walsh
Goodspeed's Book Store
18 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Walsh:

Within the last three months we have made an inventory of our Lincoln Library-Museum. Ralph Newman undertook the task of enumerating the many items of our collection. This inventory-taking brought to our attention several publications, which, in the past, we had not necessarily appreciated as rarities. Such an item is Monaghan 600, "Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865."

According to Ralph this is one of the rarest of all printed items of Lincolniana. Do you agree?

We think there are ^{seven} ~~six~~ copies extant, as follows:

Illinois State Historical Library
Lilly Library
Library of Congress
Philip Sang
Carl Haverlin
Goodspeed's Book Store ~~Shop~~
Lincoln National Life Foundation

Will you confirm the above statement as we are eager to make a survey relative to M600.

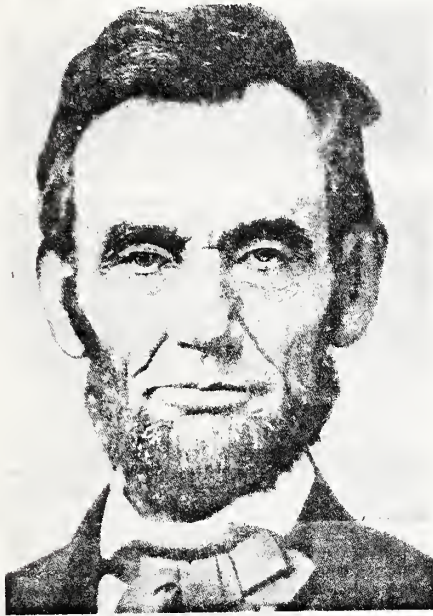
Yours sincerely,

R. Gerald McMurry
R. Gerald McMurry

P.S. I enclose a Xerox copy of the item.
RGM/hcs

also:
Brown Univ Lib
W. H. Storer ← ?
Harvard
H. Bradley Martin

Inaugural Wisdom, 1865



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

On March 4, 1865, in the waning days of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln made his second inaugural address to the American people. The brief statement ranks among his greatest speeches. In this article marking the week of Lincoln's birthday anniversary, Prof. Daniel R. Gahl reviews Lincoln's address and its meaning today. Prof. Gahl, who took his doctorate at Northwestern University, is a former staff member of the National Archives. He is an associate professor in the Department of History at Valparaiso University and assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences there.

PROF. DANIEL
R. GAHL

By Daniel R. Gahl

ON THE SUNDAY EVENING before his second inauguration, Abraham Lincoln entered his office with the completed copy of his inaugural address. As the President placed the manuscript into a drawer of his desk, he turned to a visiting congressman and the painter, Francis B. Carpenter, and remarked, "Lots of wisdom in that document." The country's greatest leader, in his usual modest manner, then added the reservation, "I suspect." But ever since, generations of Americans have been unreservedly certain of the wisdom, expressed with such eloquent simplicity, in that address.

The President was in a relaxed and cheerful mood that evening. He eased his lanky frame into a chair before the fireplace and reminisced about his early political career in Illinois, recalling with great satisfaction the support he had enjoyed from his neighbors in New Salem. His mood could be relaxed and cheerful because the end of the country's bloodiest war was in sight.

The Union forces under Sherman had cut loose from their base of supplies in Georgia and were rushing northward through the Carolinas. The weakened Confederate forces

under Johnston could do little more than "mooey" them. Meanwhile, Grant had stepped up his relentless pressure against Lee and the remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia that stubbornly held the elaborate system of trenches and fortifications set up to defend Richmond and Petersburg. It was only a question of time.

THE MAN RELAXING before the fireplace had reached the height of his career. The people had given him a vote of confidence, and the supreme task of preserving the Union, and with it the great experiment in "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," was nearing successful completion. Four years before, the man who was given that responsibility was regarded by many as nothing more than a prairie politician. Then the atmosphere was one of fear and gloom. The inaugural route was lined with soldiers, stationed at intersections and on roof tops, and cavalry troops with drawn sabers surrounded the President's carriage. Now crowds were to pour into the capital to celebrate his second inauguration.

Elaborate preparations had been made for a colorful inauguration, but the celebration was threatened by miserable weather. It was raining hard that morning. Two days of rain had already made the Washington streets muddy streams. Visitors had filled the hotels to overflowing, and some had been allowed to spend the night in the halls of the Capitol in order to find shelter from the rain.

THE PRESIDENT WENT to the Capitol early to begin the busy day by signing bills that were being passed in the closing hours of the 38th Congress. At noon he moved through the crowded corridors and without any showy display entered the Senate chamber to witness the inauguration of Andrew Johnson as vice president. This proved to be an embarrassing experience. The President slumped in his chair and closed his eyes as the intoxicated Johnson rambled through his inaugural address.

At 1 o'clock, the rain having stopped, Lincoln appeared on the platform erected on the east side of the Capitol. The band played "Hail to the Chief," and the crowd, estimated at 30,000, broke out in a loud and prolonged ovation. Standing before the table which Major French had made from scraps of iron used in the construction of the Capitol dome, Lincoln read his second inaugural address. He spoke in a deliberate manner, apparently feeling every word of the famous speech. Although the President had a ringing and somewhat shrill voice, the crowd was so large that those along the edges could not hear him. Reporters noted that among those who did, many eyes were filled with tears.

AFTER THE OATH of office had been administered by Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln acknowledged the cheers of the crowd. The scene was a joyous one. Bands continued to play, there was the booming of artillery cannon, and overhead the skies cleared. Lincoln later remarked to Noah Brooks, a Washington correspondent and his confidential friend, that when the sun broke through, it made his "heart jump." All seemed to regard this as a favorable omen of the end of the war and the beginning of a prosperous peace.

The President rode back to the White House in a plain two-horse barouche. As he was about to leave, his 11-year-old son Tad scrambled into the carriage with his father. Along the route, Walt Whitman caught a glimpse of the President. He was struck by Lincoln's worn and tired appearance, the toll of "vast responsibilities, intricate questions, and demands of life and death. . . ." But Whitman felt he

Turn to Page 2, This Section

What Lincoln Told Nation

Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865

ELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated

that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Malice Toward None....

Continued from Preceding Page

could still recognize the man who gave a combination of earnest, heartiest tenderness, and native western form of manliness."

That evening a disorderly crowd of 5,000 to 6,000 persons filed through the East Room to be greeted by the President. One of those who came through the line was Frederick Douglass, the Negro abolitionist, writer and orator who had helped recruit Negro regiments. Lincoln singled him out and asked him what he thought of the inaugural address. When Douglass said that he did not want to hold up the line of people who were crowding to shake his hand, Lincoln again pressed his question. The Negro leader than answered, "Mr. Lincoln, it was a sacred effort." Lincoln acknowledged the compliment and remarked that he was glad that Douglass liked it.

IT WAS A "SACRED EFFORT." The speech, which was the shortest inaugural address and which began with the implication that Lincoln had nothing to say, remains as a valuable legacy from the Republic's greatest leader, a charter of principles penned by a Christian statesman. The language of the address, both in quotations and in references to God, reflected his familiarity with the Scriptures, and the content of the address revealed his Biblical understanding of God, man, and history.

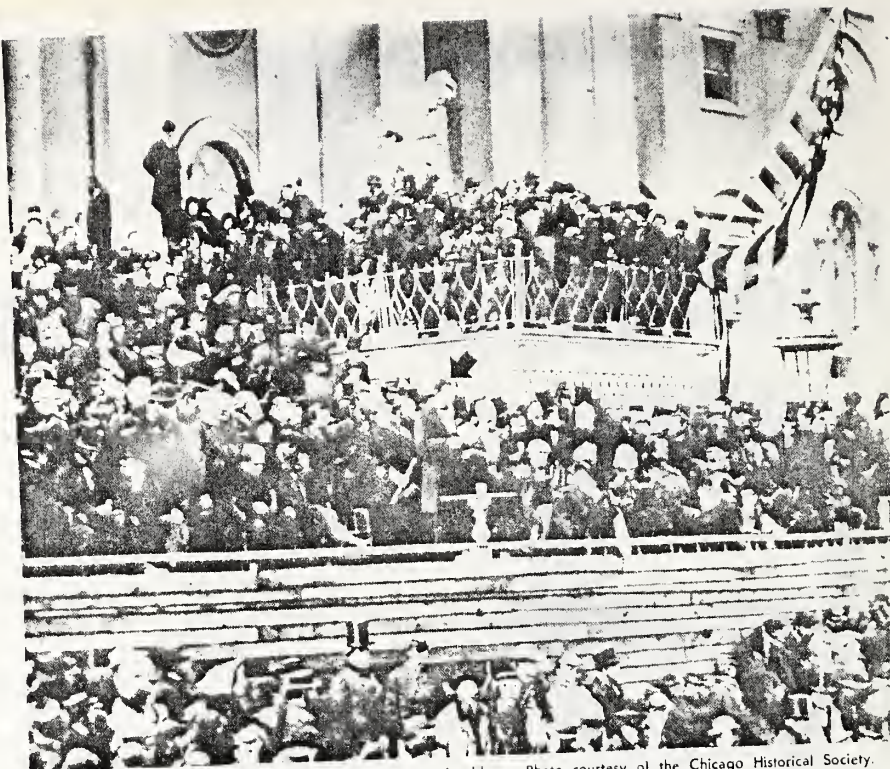
Central to the speech was Lincoln's understanding of God as ruler over man and all history. It was the purposes of God which were the power that moved man and which were fulfilled in history. God in a fundamental manner, not as a mechanical force, was at work within the movement of events. Lincoln understood the work of the historian in his effort to explain events in terms of social, political, and economic forces. He knew the complexities of this process, but he also possessed the insight which recognized events as the hand of God working in history. He saw the entire world record as the unfolding of a divine plan, a plan in which Lincoln acted humbly as an agent of God's mysterious providence.

Thus at times he saw America tasting God's mercies and at other times feeling His punishment, and in the larger perspective of its history, he saw God's will unfolding in the perfecting of the country's democratic system and the spreading of its institutions of freedom.

With these perceptions, Lincoln tried in the address to lift the people above a mere emotional involvement in the terrible crisis and give them a framework within which they could understand the tragedy and the challenge of the period. He attempted to explain, in terms of his belief in the divine government of the world, the tragedy of a country divided in a war of brother against brother and the uncertain future of a country torn by such hatred.

LINCOLN'S ANALYSIS of the war, the major portion of the brief address, reflected an awareness of the fact that the cause of such a complex event required reference to a complex set of factors. He showed that he felt, as do many present-day historians, that the many political, social, economic, and psychological factors were related to slavery as "somehow the causes of the war." But an event so tragic and so complex went beyond the capacity of man's finite mind to fully comprehend. The final explanation would have to be found in a comprehension of God's purposes. Without presuming to know God's will, Lincoln suggested that slavery may be the offense which God purposed to both punish and eliminate by the war.

The President had been admonishing his countrymen ever



President Lincoln (arrow) delivering his second inaugural address. Photo courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

since the Battle of Bull Run to recognize the tragedy of the war in these terms. The hand of God was being applied to a nation in which the people of the South continued to actively practice the evil of human bondage and the people of the North tolerated its existence and even enjoyed the profits resulting from the cheap raw material produced by the slave labor. To those Americans who thought that such a judgment seemed extremely harsh and who prayed for an end of the bloodshed, Lincoln answered that these profits had been exploited and the lash of the slave masters had been applied for the long period of 250 years and then concluded with a reference to the passage of Psalm 19, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

HAVING PLACED THE PROBLEM of the Civil War into the context of the moral evil of slavery and God's resultant judgment upon the nation, Lincoln did not allow himself and the supporters of the Union to assume a self-righteous posture over against their Southern brothers who actively supported the evil institution. He did not identify his will as being God's will. Both North and South, although embracing different positions, were sincere, and "both read the same Bible and pray to the same God." The two, he recognized, could not be right, and God could not answer the prayers of both. Although Lincoln recognized the difficulty of accepting the fact that God's benediction may be resting on a people who clung to slavery, he nevertheless urged his countrymen to remember Christ's exhortation in the Sermon on the Mount that man should acknowledge his limitations and avoid the perilous practice of passing judgment on others. He emphasized this by repeating his basic point, "The Almighty has His own purposes."

While having avoided the pitfall of self-righteousness by his acknowledgment of the fact that God's will, and not man's, rules the world, Lincoln similarly guarded against the trap of the apathy, indecision, and inactivity of the relativist and the agnostic. He urged the country, which still faced the problem of the completion of the war and the task of reconstruction, to proceed "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." Lincoln, who was called upon to make perhaps the most difficult decisions of all our Presidents, thus proposed the pattern that one first seek to know God's will and one's own responsibility in its fulfillment and then act with the resoluteness born of trust that one's actions were directed toward those goals. This was not to be the firmness of the fanatic but of one whose seriousness was tempered by a recognition of the limitations of man in his efforts to do what is morally right.

It is in the last paragraph of the address that there appears Lincoln's famous plea for love and toleration. In the plea, "With malice toward none, with charity for all," Lincoln caught, in unforgettable language, the meaning of Christ's summary of the law and the Apostle Paul's discourse on love. It was an attitude which stemmed from his humble realization that even when man feels that his goals and actions are on

the highest level, he may be wrong or only partly right. The eloquent entreaty had greater depth because of Lincoln's increasing concern over the growing demand within his party for a harsh, vindictive treatment of the South in the reconstruction effort.

ALTHOUGH LINCOLN THOUGHT that his second inaugural address would "wear as well as—perhaps better than—" anything he had produced, he did not expect the message to be immediately popular with Americans. It isn't pleasant, he wrote to Thurlow Weed, to be told that you may not be right, that your purpose may not be that of God. He, however, added that it was "a truth which I thought needed to be told."

Subsequent generations have continued to be enriched by the truths of the address. In one respect, the speech has remained relevant to the discussion of religion in every age, including the present era of growing secularization. In his address Lincoln confessed his belief in the existence of a living God who governed the world, whose will furnished men and nations with their pattern of conduct.

The Lincoln answer to the problem of peace among nations and among Americans likewise has continuing relevance. Lincoln would suggest to our generation that even though we are engaged in a contest to contain a force committed to atheism, that we in humility recognize that both we and the Communist nations are part of a larger historical account written by divine power and for divine purposes. He would remind us that if the door to peace is to be kept open not only must the Communists recognize their misguided actions and goals but also that we divest ourselves of all self-righteous vanity which might cause us to claim our will as the will of God and lose the promise of help to those who "humble themselves."

THE POINT OF THE MESSAGE which related to the problem of a hate-torn nation likewise remains relevant to our age. The generation of the Civil War was not the only one in our history to exhibit an ugly strain of intolerance. This was present in the Puritans' absolute certainty of their own virtue and their understanding of God's truth and remains evident in those extremists of our day, who, in arrogating to themselves superiority in wisdom or social status, engage in character assassination, close doors of opportunity to others, and even throw bombs into churches where children are worshipping.

The struggle to root out this strain in our society remains a crucial part of our fight to preserve a democratic society. In that cause, Lincoln made a plea for Christian charity, an attitude based on a recognition of God's infinite power and wisdom and a realization that no man or movement possesses the power to know ultimate truth. In this manner he contributed to the strengthening of a major endowment of the American people — the valuable legacy of the approach of moderation and tolerance.

100 YEARS AGO

from The Tribune and other sources
For Your Historical Scrapbook

March 16, 1865. From the Richmond Examiner, THE TRIBUNE takes a Confederate opinion of Lincoln's second inaugural: "This address reads like the tail end of some old sermon and seems to have no particular meaning of any kind. At least, if any meaning lurks in it, we fail to perceive it. The whole presents a singular contrast to the French emperor's address to his legislature. The latter is the utterance of a national and educated ruler to a civilized community. The former is a harangue eminently fit to be made by Abraham Lincoln to the crazy people who on that day were parading thru every street in the north."

Goodspeed's Book Shop INC.

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Telephone: LAFayette 3-5970



Cables: Speedwell, Boston

September 7, 1967

Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry
Lincoln National Life Insurance Co.
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. McMurtry:

I have read with pleasure LINCOLN LORE, #1554, on the SECOND INAUGURAL. If you can spare them, could we have two extra copies? One of these would be for Mr. Norman L. Dodge and the other for a local private collector who purchased the copy of the SECOND INAUGURAL described in THE MONTH.

At the time of THE MONTH article Goodspeed's had remaining but one copy out of a block of five originally purchased. These were stitched together in an old half morocco binding with some other Lincoln pamphlets. The copy described in THE MONTH went to a local collector whose name we are not at liberty to publish at this time. So far as I know Mr. Streeter had but one copy (one of the five which we owned). The other three Goodspeed copies went to Mr. Martin, Brown University Library and Harvard University Library. If my figures are correct, there are now twelve known copies.

For a guess the binding, in which the five copies of the SECOND INAUGURAL which came to us were enclosed, was made sometime between 1865 and 1900. This would tend to show that the person who ordered the binding was so impressed by Lincoln's

Goodspeed's Book Shop INC.

Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry - 2 -

September 7, 1967

address that he saved not one, but five copies.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "M. J. Walsh".

MJW/alc

Michael J. Walsh

*Did Mr. Street's middle name
was "Guthrie".*

September 11, 1967

Mr. Michael J. Walsh
Goodspeed's Book Shop, Inc.
18 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Dear Mr. Walsh:

I was delighted to have your letter of September 7th giving me information on Monaghan 600 (Lincoln's Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865).

In preparing my article I was reluctant to ask you for information as I know relations between book dealers and their clients are usually confidential.

I appreciate your setting me straight about the number of copies and their present location. Since writing the article, I have learned that the American Antiquarian Society of Worchester, Massachusetts also owns a copy.

I am happy to send you a half dozen copies of Lincoln Lore #1554.

Yours sincerely,

R. Gerald McMurtry

RGM/cmv
Enclosure

Goodspeed's Book Shop INC.

18 BEACON STREET · BOSTON · MASSACHUSETTS 02108

Telephone: LAfayette 3-5970



Cables: Speedwell, Boston

September 13, 1967

Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Director
The Lincoln National Life Foundation
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. McMurtry:

Thanks for sending us the extra copies of the LINCOLN LORE containing the Second Inaugural. The Streeter copy is to be sold by Parke-Bernet on October 25. In the same sale will be Mr. Streeter's copy of the Gettysburg Solemnities. Wouldn't you guess that the latter would bring at least \$10,000?

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Michael J. Walsh".

MJW/alc

Michael J. Walsh



United States
Government
Printing Office

Washington, D. C. 20402

ASSISTANT PUBLIC PRINTER
(Superintendent of Documents)

October 3, 1977

In reply refer to

709-0807

Mr. Robert R. Miller, President
The Current Company
12 Howe Street
P.O. Box 46
Bristol, Rhode Island 02809

Dear Mr. Miller:

This is in response to your letter of September 12, 1977, concerning Lincoln's second inaugural address. Though we have cataloged various publications issued by the United States Government as far back as the 1790's, we find no record of this particular leaflet. The Annual Report of John Defrees, Superintendent of Public Printing, lists by title all reports printed during the year 1865, but this title is not among them.

I am sorry that we cannot be more helpful in this matter.

Sincerely,

C. A. LaBARRE
Assistant Public Printer
(Superintendent of Documents)

Drawer 6
Second Inaugural

FROM



the current company

12 Howe St., Bristol, R. I., 02809 - P. O. Box 46

(401) 253-7824

Rare Books, Prints, Manuscripts



Mr. Mark E. Neeley, Jr., Director
The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library,
1300 South Clinton St.,
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801

SUBJECT:
FOLD HERE
DATE

10-7-77

FILE:
CORP: under CURRENT CO.
copy in CLIPPHOTOS: Drawer 6
Second Inaugural

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from C. A. LaBarre
Assistant Public Printer, regarding the Monaghan #600 printing of Lincoln's
Second Inaugural Address.

Somehow, the plot thickens. We are at a loss to understand why
the various bibliophile experts have arbitrarily assigned the Monaghan #600
as the first printing of the address. Hopefully, some one will be able to
root out the facts surrounding this assumption.

Many thanks for your help.

SIGNED

Sincerely,

B. B. Lull

SPEED-MEMO

VFW

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

MAGAZINE

FEBRUARY • 1981



With malice toward none, with charity for all... let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves and with all nations.

Abraham Lincoln,
Second Inaugural Address,
March 4, 1865





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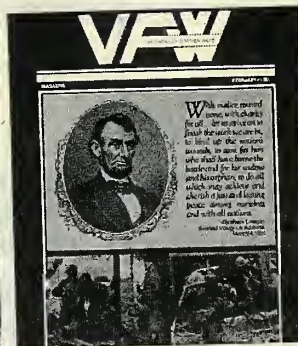
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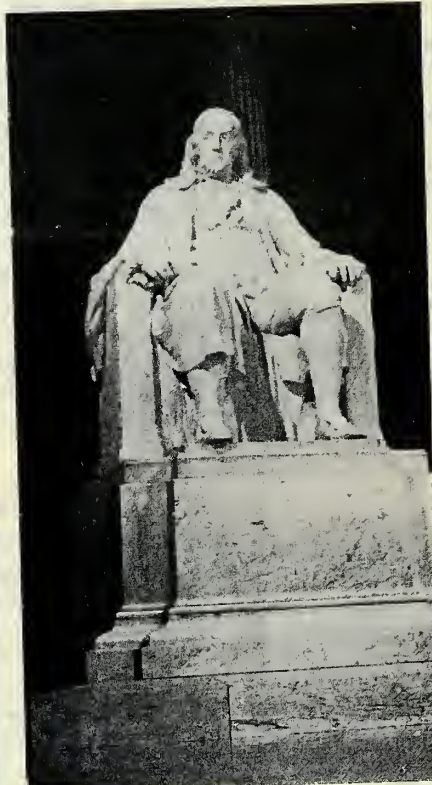
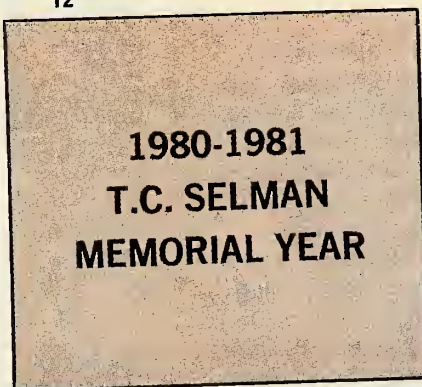
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The Cover

Lincoln's moving words reproduced on the cover have been the guiding force underlying the philosophy of veterans' entitlements ever since they were uttered 116 years ago. In this month of February, in which Lincoln's birth occurred, it is worthwhile that everyone be reminded of the responsibility the government owes the veterans who fought to preserve the nation. Shown also on the cover are photographs of Americans in World War II, Korea and Vietnam, the most recent wars in which Americans have participated.

Lincoln's symphony

By Richard Rothschild

One hundred and twenty-five years ago, on March 4, 1865, on the steps of a still-unfinished U.S. Capitol building, Abraham Lincoln delivered what may be the greatest presidential speech in American history.

Posterity has neither honored nor quoted it as much as the Gettysburg Address, and among Lincoln's contemporaries it did not trigger the same political alarms as his "house divided" speech at the start of the 1858 Senate campaign in Illinois.

But the Second Inaugural Address is an unusual blend of majesty without boastfulness, fire and brimstone without bellicosity, sense of history with a touch of the sublime. It is Lincoln's finest work, a powerful condemnation of the country's slavery-cursed past and a heart-rending call for an America at peace with itself and with all nations.

Lincoln said he expected it "to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced."

Carl Sandburg, Lincoln's most-famous biographer, called it a "benediction and a plea—with deep music."

Unlike most presidential speeches, Lincoln's words did not cause great cheering but, according to Sandburg, "many moist eyes, and here and there tears coursing down faces unashamed."

The Civil War was nearly spent, and the South's surrender at Appomattox was just five weeks off. Lincoln, the most vilified of presidents, could have used the occasion to make his critics eat a little crow. He could have boasted about the considerable accom-

Lincoln

Continued from page 1

plishments of his first term or, as many expected, threatened a still-combative Confederacy. But instead of belligerence or vengeance he offered calm compassion.

The setting and circumstances of the historic address were not auspicious. The inaugural parade down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol had to contend with a light drizzle and gusty winds that cut through the fine clothes of Washington's political and social elite. Mud was everywhere.

A photograph taken that day shows Lincoln speaking before an incomplete Capitol dome, seeming to symbolize the incomplete state of the nation. In the upper right corner of the picture stands one of the few people in the audience who was not moved by Lincoln's call for reconciliation: John Wilkes Booth, who six weeks later would end Lincoln's life at Ford's Theater.

But on this dreary day, the most serious source of worry for Lincoln was a member of the official

party inside at the pre-inaugural ceremony in the Senate chamber: Vice President Andrew Johnson.

Fortified by two tumblers of whiskey to battle a severe case of nerves, Johnson was a drunken disaster. During his address (the vice president took the oath of office in the Senate in those days), Johnson had rambled, shouted and mistakenly said his home state of Tennessee had never been out of the union. A humiliated Lincoln, who would later defend his vice president, saying, "Andy ain't a drunkard," had quietly told a marshal, "Don't let Johnson speak outside."

The procession moved in front of the Capitol. The drizzle had stopped. Lincoln was greeted by what a reporter described as "a tremendous shout prolonged and loud from the surging ocean of humanity."

Although the Second Inaugural was not a long speech, its pace and character changes at least three times, resembling a great work of music.

The first movement served as an introduction. Unlike four years earlier, Lincoln said, on this day there was "less occasion for an extended address." Of the surging Union Army, Lincoln simply said

that its progress "is as well known to the public as myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all."

If the crowd expected a heroic recounting of great victories at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Nashville and Atlanta, it would be disappointed.

"Both parties [North and South] deprecated war," Lincoln said. "But one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came."

The second movement concerned the central role of slavery in the "great conflict."

"Slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest," Lincoln said. "All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war."

In the century and a quarter since Appomattox, numerous scholars have argued that other matters fueled war: regional differences, an industrial vs. an agrarian society, unfair tariffs, secession.

But Lincoln knew that without slavery, the other sources of discontent were not capable of setting brother against brother.

The second movement quickly shifted into the third as Lincoln

brought the image of an avenging God into the struggle. Noting that North and South read the same Bible and prayed to the same God, Lincoln said: "The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes."

Turning up the temperature, Lincoln said that if God willed that the "mighty scourge of war" must continue "until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with a sword, as was said 3,000 years ago . . . the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

One might almost have expected thunder to resound over the Capitol. Instead of a storm came the shining light of Lincoln's moving coda:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, for his widow and orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting piece among

ourselves and with all nations."

In all of American letters, there is no more eloquent appeal to the best instincts in the national character, the willingness to set aside a titanic struggle and reunite.

The sentiments of the Second Inaugural's lofty language, its recognition of America's potential as a source for peace and mediation in the world, make it clear why Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, in his address before a joint session of Congress last month, cited Lincoln as a model of American leadership.

An Eastern European of another age, the Russian author Leo Tolstoy, said Lincoln's "peculiar moral powers and greatness of character" made him to govern what Beethoven was to music.

Indeed, Lincoln's "house divided" speech was his "Eroica" Symphony, a precedent-shattering statement that alerted America to a new force in politics.

The Emancipation Proclamation is his "Fidelio," a non-operatic unchaining of the shackles and a celebration of freedom.

The Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's quintessential work, is his Fifth Symphony. "Four score and seven years ago" is as memo-

rable in government as the four-note opening of the Fifth is in symphonic music.

Finally, the Second Inaugural is Lincoln's Ninth Symphony, his most substantial creation, which pulls together the great issues of Lincoln's public life: slavery, the union, freedom. His plea to "bind up the nation's wounds" to "achieve a just and lasting peace" echoes the spirit of Beethoven's chorus singing, "All men become brothers."

For him, the Second Inaugural Address' "deep music" stilled the waters he had stirred seven years earlier when he told Illinois Republicans: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I do not believe this nation can permanently endure half-slave and half-free."

In the speech that began his second term in office, Lincoln saw the divided house as becoming whole again.

Two months after the Second Inaugural, after an all-night train journey from Chicago where some 125,000 mourners had marked his passing, Lincoln's body was buried in Springfield. The words of the great speech lived on, but the agent to translate them into action was gone.



MARKERS OF CHANGE

Since 1804, when a group of New Yorkers set out "to discover, procure, and preserve" the history of the United States, The New-York Historical Society has actively collected books and manuscripts that document the American past. From March, 1991 to September, 1992, *Markers of Change* presents a small selection of books, newspapers, and maps that embody significant moments and issues from this past. Although reproductions and reprinted versions of these texts have long been available, The New-York Historical Society is proud to exhibit these primary sources in their original forms or contemporary formats.

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\$4.50 for adults, \$3.00 for students/seniors
\$1.00 for children under 12

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Background

The New-York Historical Society, founded in 1804, is an unparalleled resource for the study and appreciation of American art, history, and culture. The Society houses New York City's oldest museum and one of the nation's most distinguished research libraries, with combined collections spanning more than three centuries of American life. These extraordinary collections, which provide an invaluable record of the formation of culture in New York and the nation, are presented to the public through exhibitions, publications, and education programs serving children and adults. The mission of the Society and character of its collections charge the Society with these special responsibilities: to serve as a repository of collective memory, to reveal the power of history as a determinant force in American society, and to convey to present and future generations a sense of the past, of their place in its legacy, and of their own role in shaping the future.



MARKERS OF CHANGE
Documents of American History

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

COMMENTS BY
GOVERNOR MARIO M. CUOMO
AND
HAROLD HOLZER

June 11 - July 19, 1992

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1865; courtesy The Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana, a part of Lincoln National Corp.

A rare copy of the first printing of the Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865. The New-York Historical Society

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MARCH 4, 1865.

FELLOW CITIZEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there was a less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in drink of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted opponents of the Union united here and there, were in the city seeking to destroy it without war-seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the Union survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in warring their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The progress of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Al-mighty has His own purposes. "We are on the world's battle-field; for it must needs be that offences come; but we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time,

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both north and south this terrible war, so the war due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any den-ial from these divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Finally do we hope—severely do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hun-dred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the sword, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right; let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

GOVERNOR MARIO M. CUOMO



Photo: Don Pollard

March 4, 1865—inauguration day—dawned chill and overcast in wartime Washington, a city cloaked in the gloom of the four-year-long fighting between North and South. Around noon, Abraham Lincoln, the first American president to be elected to a second term since Andrew Jackson, appeared on the portico of the U.S. Capitol to take his oath and deliver his eagerly awaited address. (Although a gifted orator, Lincoln gave surprisingly few speeches after assuming the presidency.)

Looking thin and haggard now, his hair and beard trimmed unusually short, Lincoln held before him—perhaps for the first time in his career as a public speaker—a professionally printed copy of his remarks, having asked, for this occasion, that his manuscript be set in type to make it easier to read. Within moments, a dramatic change in the weather made it easier still.

As Lincoln launched his speech, the dark clouds above him suddenly parted and sunlight bathed both the speaker and the vast throng gathered on the Capitol grounds. The symbolism was not lost on Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who called

it "an auspicious omen of the dispersion of the clouds of war." Lincoln himself admitted: "It made my heart jump."

The speech he went on to deliver may rank as the greatest of presidential inaugu-rals. Although best remembered for its reconciliatory conclusion, Lincoln devoted fully half of it to a scorching fire-and-brimstone defense of the War as heaven-sent punishment for the sin of slavery. Insisting that emancipation had sanctified the Union cause, Lincoln defended wartime sacrifice, even if God willed that the fighting continue "until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword." But he also called it "strange" that both sides had dared invoke God's aid against the other. "To Lincoln," the prayers... of neither side had been "answered fully." On a more charitable note, Lincoln ended with his famous pledge "to bind up the nation's wounds," offering peace "with malice towards none." Five weeks later, Lee surrendered to Grant, effectively ending the Civil War. But before he could begin his plan of reconstruction, Lincoln was assassinated.

However sublime, in typical 19th Century fashion Lincoln's magnificent second inaugural was initially subjected to blatantly partisan appraisal. A Democratic party newspaper, for example, criticized it

as "puerile," while a pro-Lincoln organ countered that its concluding sentences deserved to be "printed in gold." Lincoln was personally convinced that the speech would "wear as well as—perhaps better than—any thing I have ever produced." But he was also aware that it was "not immediately popular," explaining: "Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them."

Governor Mario M. Cuomo and Harold Holzer, co-editors, *Lincoln on Democracy*

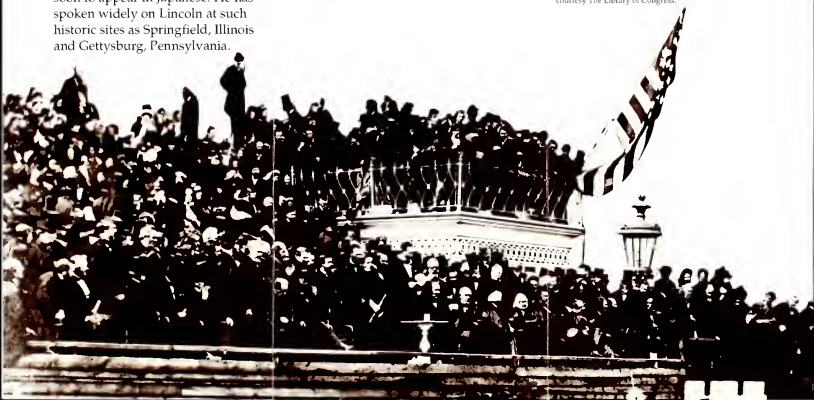
LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mario M. Cuomo, the 52nd Governor of New York State, conceived of and co-edited the book *Lincoln on Democracy* (1990), published in English and Polish and soon to appear in Japanese. He has spoken widely on Lincoln at such historic sites as Springfield, Illinois and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Harold Holzer, who has served as a public affairs specialist in the Cuomo Administration since 1984, has written widely on Lincoln and the Civil War.

Public Programs of The New-York Historical Society are supported by a generous grant from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund. Conservation of the *Inaugural Address* was made possible through funding from The Anne Laurie Aitken Charitable Trust

Photo below: Lincoln delivering his second inaugural address, March 4, 1865, courtesy The Library of Congress.



Lincoln speech nets \$1.32 million:

A handwritten fragment of President Lincoln's second inaugural address — featuring the words "With malice toward none; with charity for all" — sold Friday for \$1.32 million, a record for an American manuscript. The manuscript had an estimated value of \$500,000 at Christie's auction house in New York. The purchaser was Profiles in History, a California dealer in rare manuscripts, said Todd Merrill, a Christie's spokesman.

— THE YEAR IN THE ARTS —

1992

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Abraham Lincoln.

Words Worth Millions Two Abraham Lincoln autographs brought huge prices in New York. At Christie's, an autograph album in which Lincoln wrote the sentence that begins "With malice toward none..." was sold for \$1.3 million. And an early version of his doctrine "A house divided..." brought \$1.5 million at Sotheby's.

Above, an autographed copy of a passage from Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, which brought \$1.3 million at auction. Left, the comic book that introduced Superman, which was sold for \$82,500.



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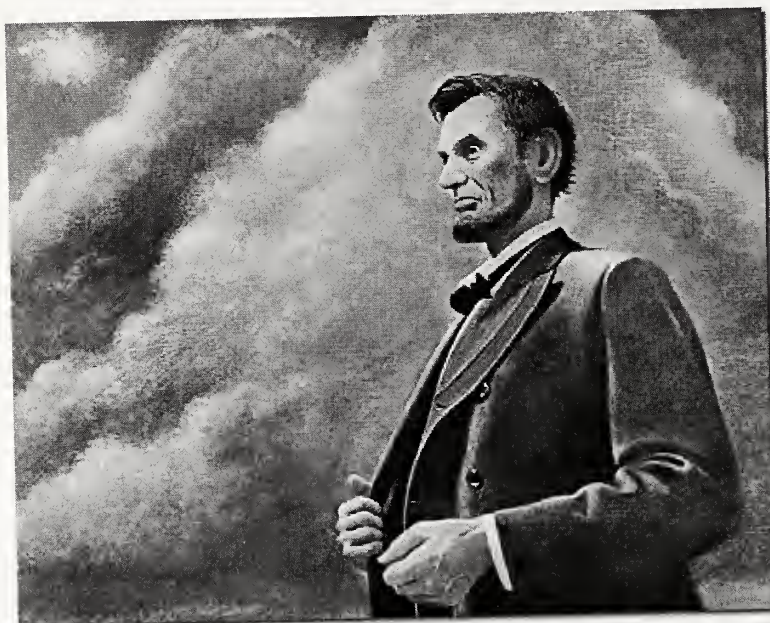
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Lincoln's Greatest Speech?



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*Frederick Douglass called it "a sacred effort," and
Lincoln himself thought that his Second Inaugural,
which offered a theodicy of the Civil War, was better
than the Gettysburg Address*

by Garry Wills

*(The online version of this article appears in three parts. Click here to
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"Emancipation is the demand of civilization," Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in April, 1862. "That is a principle; everything else is an intrigue." *Atlantic* articles by Emerson and Frederick Douglass comment on Lincoln's greatest decision, and his greatest legacy.

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From the archives:

"The Election in November," by James Russell Lowell
(October, 1860)

"We are persuaded that the election of Mr. Lincoln will do more than anything else to appease the excitement of the country. He has proved both his ability and his integrity; he has had experience enough in public affairs to make him a statesman, and not enough to make him a politician."

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic," by Julia Ward Howe
(February, 1862)

"Mine eyes have seen the glory..."

"American Civilization," by Ralph Waldo Emerson
(April, 1862)

"Why cannot the best

MARCH 4, 1865, the day of Lincoln's second inauguration as President, began in a driving rain that raddled Washington's famously muddy thoroughfares -- women would wear the mud caked to their long dresses throughout the day's ceremonies. Walt Whitman saw Lincoln's carriage dash through the rain "on sharp trot" from the White House to the Capitol, scene of the swearing-in. He thought Lincoln might have preceded the tacky parade in order to avoid association with a muslin Temple of Liberty or a pasteboard model of the ironclad *Monitor*. Though Whitman was a close observer of the President, and would shadow him throughout this day, there was no way for Lincoln to recognize him in the crowd.

It was otherwise with Frederick Douglass. After the parade had arrived at the Capitol's east portico and the presidential company had come out, Lincoln recognized the civil-rights leader from Douglass's earlier visits to the White House. He pointed him out to Andrew Johnson, who had just been sworn in as Vice President in the Senate chamber. Douglass thought Johnson looked drunk, but did not know what a fool the Tennessean had made of himself after taking the oath. After Johnson had given a rambling and slurred speech attacking privilege, he melodramatically waved the e Biblin the air and passionately kissed it. Benjamin Butler, of Massachusetts, who later led the impeachment effort against Johnson, said in a public speech that the Vice President "slobbered the Holy Book with a drunken kiss." Lincoln, who studiously avoided looking up during Johnson's odd performance in the Senate, quietly told the parade marshal, "Do not let Johnson speak outside." Perhaps Lincoln was trying to be compensatorily reassuring when he made conversation with Johnson by pointing out Douglass. But Johnson's disoriented sullenness came out as pure hate when this former slave owner looked at the escaped slave who was now a celebrity. Douglass recorded the instant.

The first expression which came to his face.

SPEECHES AND PROCLAMATIONS BY LINCOLN:

The First Inaugural Address
(March 4, 1861)

The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862)

The Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863)

The Gettysburg Address
(November 19, 1863)

The Second Inaugural Address
(March 4, 1865)

civilization be extended over the whole country, since the disorder of the less civilized portion menaces the existence of the country?"

"The President's Proclamation," by Ralph Waldo Emerson (November, 1862)

"In so many arid forms which States incrust themselves with, once in a century, if so often, a poetic act and record occur."

"Boston Hymn," by Ralph Waldo Emerson (February, 1863)
A poem.

"Voluntaries," by Ralph Waldo Emerson (October, 1863)
A poem.

"Reconstruction," by Frederick Douglass (December, 1866)

"The assembling of the Second Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress may very properly be made the occasion of a few earnest words on the already much-worn topic of reconstruction."

"An Appeal to Congress for Impartial Suffrage," by Frederick Douglass (January, 1867)

"Suffrage for the negro, while easily sustained upon abstract principles, demands consideration upon what are recognized as the urgent necessities of the case."

"A Passive President?," by James M. McPherson (November, 1995)
A rich one-volume biography of the touchstone of American greatness

and which I think was the true index of his heart, was one of bitter contempt and aversion. Seeing that I observed him, he tried to assume a more friendly appearance, but it was too late; it is useless to close the door when all within has been seen.

Much of future tragedy could be glimpsed in that silent exchange of glances -- and much of the problem Lincoln faced in framing a speech for this occasion. Johnson, who had served as governor of the border state of Tennessee, was just one of the many compromises Lincoln had been forced to make in his attempt to shorten the war and make reintegration of the nation possible. It is easy for us to think of reconstructing the nation as a task that came after the war. But Lincoln faced problems of reconstruction soon after the war began. He had to govern sectors recaptured from the South, to keep border states from joining the rebellion, and to woo wavering parts of the southern coalition. All this involved the use of carrots as well as sticks -- promises of amnesty, discussion of gradual emancipation, bargaining over things like black suffrage. These in turn alienated the radical Republicans, who wanted no compromise on the question of slavery or black civil rights.

This was a fight that could not be delayed until the war was over, and it flared up most bitterly after the occupation of New Orleans, in May of 1862. Lincoln hoped to make Louisiana, with its high percentage of educated freemen, a showcase of the way the South could be reunited with the North on the basis of a free black work force. But when congressmen were elected by Louisiana's provisional government, which seemed too conservative to Congress, they were not initially seated, and Congress continued with its own plan of reconstruction, entertaining such notions as that southern state lines should be erased and the conquered area territorialized. Lincoln feared that such congressional initiatives would reduce his flexibility in trying to bargain with the South. He placated the radicals with his Emancipation Proclamations (provisional on September 22, 1862, final on January 1, 1863) enough to be able to make his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction on December 8, 1863. It readmitted any state that could form a government of at least 10 percent of the electorate which was willing to take an oath of allegiance to the Union and to accept the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln's proposal failed to affect the nettlesome problems in Louisiana (the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to those parts of Louisiana that were not formally out of the Union when it was issued). In

speeches.

"Lincoln Speaks," by James M. McPherson (December, 1996)

A review of *The Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln*.

Related links:

"Getting Right With Lincoln," by David Donald (1956)

In our age of anxiety it is pertinent to remember that our most enduring political symbolism derives from Lincoln, whose one dogma was an absence of dogma.

The Gettysburg Address

An online exhibit by the Library of Congress.

Abraham Lincoln Online

"This non-profit site is a clearinghouse of information about [Abraham Lincoln], offering selected speeches and writings, and news of Lincoln studies and events."

The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln

Posted by the Abraham Lincoln Association, a group dedicated to the study of Abraham Lincoln.

From Atlantic Unbound:

"Dashed Hopes at the White House,"

(August 15, 1998)
A cartoon.

were not formally out of the Union when it was issued). In December of 1864 Lincoln was still protesting to critics that his approach to Louisiana was merely a temporary expedient for putting the state back in operation, and that "we can never finish this, if we never begin it."

People were laboring through all these controversies as they labored through the mud to Lincoln's inaugural ceremony. The end of the war was in sight -- Lee would surrender at Appomattox a mere five weeks after the inauguration. But what would be done with that victory? Lincoln's appeal for latitude in the use of executive power, on the grounds that it was needed for waging the war, would lose all force when the guns fell silent. What new authority would he argue for to reach new goals? This was as thorny a situation, in its own way, as that which Lincoln had addressed in his lengthy First Inaugural. Then he had had to explain what terms he would accept for maintaining peace (including a promise to leave slavery perpetually undisturbed where it already existed) and what terms he would not accept (secession). That was a legal argument, involving constitutional philosophy, with many fine distinctions to be sharply drawn. If anything, the legal problems were even more complex in 1865. Would the Confederacy be a conquered nation? Or would it be a continuing part of America, in which some had committed crimes and others were innocent? How could the guilty be distinguished from the innocent, for assigning proper punishments or rewards? On what timetable? Under whose supervision? Using what instruments of discipline or reform (trials, oaths of allegiance, perpetual disqualification for office)? And what of the former slaves? Were they to be allowed suffrage, indemnified for losses, given lands forfeited by the rebels, guaranteed work and workers' rights? The problems were endless, and the very norms for discussing them were still to be agreed on. Lincoln had his work cut out for him, and his audience could reasonably expect a serious engagement with matters that were haunting everyone on the eve of victory.

MANY-LAYERED MEANING

ONLY against the backdrop of such concerns can we appreciate the daring, almost the effrontery, of the Second Inaugural's most obvious characteristic -- its extreme brevity. It is true that the Gettysburg Address is even briefer (272 words to the Inaugural's 703), but that was given at a ceremonial occasion for which Lincoln was not even the principal speaker. No one expected serious discussion of national imperatives when the business of the day was honoring fallen soldiers. It is a different matter

when a presidential address is given during a war that is collapsing into a potentially more divisive peace. Yet Lincoln almost breezily dismissed questions of both war and peace, saying that nothing in either called for lengthy treatment. Was he not able to appreciate the scale of the difficulties facing him? Did he think he could reduce them to manageable size by ignoring or belittling them?

That this bold defiance of expectation was deliberate is clear from the pride Lincoln took in this speech. Some have wondered if he realized what a masterpiece he had created at Gettysburg. He clearly knew that he had done well; but he expected to do even better in the years ahead -- years he would not be given. He believed he had already equaled or surpassed the Gettysburg Address at least once -- in his Second Inaugural. Eleven days after delivering it he wrote to Thurlow Weed, the Republican organizer in New York, that he expected it to "wear as well as -- perhaps better than -- any thing I have produced."

Yet if this later speech was better than the earlier one, that was because it built on the earlier one. At Gettysburg, Lincoln had proved to himself and others the virtues of economy in the use of words. He had put many-layered meaning in lapidary form. He aspired to the same thing in his inaugural speech. This is the more surprising when we consider the full-blown nature of most nineteenth-century oratory, and the fact that Presidents had so few opportunities for making speeches at that time. They did not deliver their annual messages to Congress in person. They did not address the conventions that nominated them. They could address groups that came to visit them in Washington, but Lincoln tried to avoid impromptu statements. All the words of a man in his position had to be well considered. He had denied himself the chance to make campaign speeches in both his presidential races, for fear of saying something divisive. All this must have been frustrating to Lincoln, who knew well the power of his oratory -- what it had accomplished in the "House Divided" speech and the Douglas debates of 1858, and the Cooper Union speech in 1860, and at Gettysburg in 1863. The temptation must have been strong to load his inaugural address with everything he had been wanting to say. Here, at last, was his opportunity, too good to be wasted, and at just the moment when major issues were being hotly debated and an intervention by the President was desired.

The first thing to admire, then, is the discipline that kept him from saying anything more than what he considered essential, just as at Gettysburg. The earlier speech was a

model for more than its brevity. He used the same rhetorical ploy to begin the two addresses. At Gettysburg he would not dedicate the battlefield, though he admitted that that was "altogether fitting and proper." In the Second Inaugural he would not make an extended speech, though he conceded that doing so had been "fitting and proper" at his first inauguration. (The phrase "fitting and proper," occurring in these two short addresses, thus ends up being repeated in the inscriptions on the Lincoln Memorial.) Familiarity with both speeches has made us appreciate too little how unexpected this approach was at the time.

We most easily read Lincoln's refusal to dedicate the battlefield as acting like a *praeteritio* in rhetoric: "I will not mention ... " But it has been mentioned in the very statement that refuses mention, and that device draws more attention, after all, to the "unmentioned" thing. So we expect Lincoln to say that he will not dedicate in some sense or other, leaving the impression of dedication at a deeper level. But Lincoln was not doing anything so tame. He did not distinguish different kinds of dedication. He turned the whole subject upside down: We cannot dedicate the field. The field must dedicate us.

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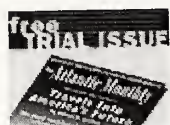
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Garry Wills is the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992). His book *A Necessary Evil: A History of American Distrust of Government* will be published in October.

Illustration by Wendell Minor.

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BEYOND CONTROL

THE defiance of expectation is not so obvious in the Second Inaugural, but it is clearly there, and is carefully stated in order to exclude things that people wanted Lincoln to say. He said that he would not speak at length, as he did in the First Inaugural (when he was "loth to close"), when there were important things to discuss. Now, in contrast (and this had to be a shocker to some people), there was nothing useful to say about the war. It took its course, and he did not even pretend to be steering it anymore, much less to predict the time of its conclusion.

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The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

That impersonal last sentence, with its dangling prepositional phrase, reflects the nonassertiveness that Lincoln wanted to recommend at this point. To show that predictions were worthless, he pointed out how little the war's development had been, or could have been, predicted.

Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

With the end in sight, Lincoln did not voice the expectable, even forgivable, emotion that most leaders would in such a situation -- a declaration that the rightful cause had triumphed, as it must. "The prayers of both [sides] could

not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes." To Lincoln, as he looked back, even his First Inaugural seemed to have been an exercise in futility.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it -- all sought to avert it. While the inaugural [sic] address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

Events were beyond anyone's control. War came of itself, the personified process overriding personal agents.

What was going on here? His audience had a right to think Lincoln disingenuous when he said there were no thorny policy problems to be addressed now, as there had been in the First Inaugural. His words sound almost eerily "above it all." As the historian David Donald says, "It was a remarkably impersonal address. After the opening paragraph, Lincoln did not use the first-person-singular pronoun, nor did he refer to anything he had said or done during the previous four years." Lincoln was hardly the one to say that no great issues were resolved by the war, or that high ideals should not be used for guidance in the waging of peace. His Gettysburg Address had been sweeping in its claims -- that the war would demonstrate whether all men are created equal, and would determine whether popular government could long endure. Now he was expressing an agnosticism about human purpose in general, and a submission to inscrutable providence. This resigned mood seems inappropriate for bracing people to the task of rebuilding a nation -- a nation bloodily wrenched from all normal politics and facing problems without precedent.

"PRACTICAL RELATIONS"

BUT it was precisely because he saw the staggering size of the problems that had to be addressed that he was setting a mood of pragmatic accommodation to each challenge as it came up. Doctrinaire approaches, he

was sure, would lead to fighting the war over again in peacetime -- which is what happened during Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson. Some people argued that the South had committed treason, had withdrawn from the Union, and should be treated like any conquered nation. Others felt that the southern states were never out of the Union, and that their citizens' rights should be respected even as criminal acts were punished (mainly by the defeat itself). Though Lincoln believed that the states had not seceded because legally they could not, he did not want to let the discussion reach for grand theories or ultimate principles, since that would make the problems of living together again irresolvable. The Second Inaugural was meant, with great daring, to spell out a principle of not acting on principle. In the nation's murky situation all principles -- except this one of forgoing principle -- were compromised. He was giving a basis for the pragmatic position he had taken in the Proclamation of Amnesty, which was deliberately shortsighted, looking only a step at a time down the long, hard road ahead. He defended that proclamation again in the last speech he gave, a month after the Second Inaugural. Speaking from a White House window to a crowd celebrating the war's end, he read carefully written words.

I have been shown a letter on this subject [Reconstruction], supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps, add astonishment to his regret, were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have *purposely* forborne any public expression upon it. As [it] appears to me that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad, as the basis for controversy, and good for nothing at all -- a merely pernicious abstraction.

To steer around theoretical claims that would carry people too far in one or another direction, Lincoln chose a resolutely nontheoretical statement of Reconstruction's goal -- to restore the "proper practical relations" between

the states. That phrase is emphatically repeated five times in his final speech. If restoring practical relations be accepted as the immediate goal, then

I believe it is not only possible, but in fact, easier, to do this, without deciding, or even considering, whether these states have even been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union; and each forever after, innocently indulge his own opinion whether, in doing the acts, he brought the States from without, into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it.

The key theme in Lincoln's discussions of Reconstruction was flexibility. Over and over he stressed that his Proclamation of Amnesty was just one plan to be tried as a practical experiment, to be altered or abandoned as better arrangements became possible. This was a first attempt to reintegrate the parts of the South reclaimed by force. "But, as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it, whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest." Those who have claimed that Andrew Johnson simply carried out Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction miss the main point of Lincoln's plan -- its flexibility, which Johnson's plan lacked.

GOD'S HAND

THE problem with compromise on this scale is that it seems morally neutral, open even to injustices if they work. Answering that objection was the task Lincoln set himself in the Second Inaugural. Everything said there was meant to prove that pragmatism was, in this situation, not only moral but pious. Men could not pretend to have God's adjudicating powers. People had acted for mixed motives on all sides of the civil conflict just past. The perfectly calibrated punishment or reward for each leader, each soldier, each state, could not be incorporated into a single political disposition of the problems. As he put it on April 11,

And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each state; and such important and sudden changes

occur in the same state; and, withal, so new and unprecedented is the whole case, that no exclusive, and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and colaterals [sic]. Such [an] exclusive, and inflexible plan, would surely become a new entanglement.

Abstract principle can lead to the attitude *Fiat iustitia, ruat coelum* -- "Justice be done, though it bring down the cosmos." Lincoln had learned to have a modest view of his ability to know what ultimate justice was, and to hesitate before bringing down the whole nation in its pursuit. He asked others to recognize in the intractability of events the disposing hand of a God with darker, more compelling purposes than any man or group of men could foresee.

This lesson, learned from the war, he meant to apply to the equally intractable problems of the peace. In fact, the whole Second Inaugural was already present, in germ, in his letter of April 4, 1864, to Albert G. Hodges, a newspaper editor in Kentucky.

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

These were reflections very important to him. At the Sanitary Fair (an early form of Red Cross activity), in Baltimore, on April 18, 1864, he said,

When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end, in some way, long ere to-day. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected -- how much needs not now to be recounted. So true is it that man proposes, and God disposes.

To the Quaker Eliza Gurney he wrote, on September 4,

1864,

The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Along with the agnosticism about God's purposes in advance goes the recognition of some, at least, of God's plan, as seen in retrospect -- such as the train of necessities leading to the abolition of slavery (the Thirteenth Amendment was in process as he delivered the Second Inaugural). He did not begin the war with abolition as a goal. It was necessary for military purposes by the time of his limited and conditional Emancipation Proclamation, and then in the opportunity given Congress for initiating the Thirteenth Amendment. The force that led him was, he came to believe, divine. As he wrote to Mrs. Horace Mann, when she asked for an immediate emancipation of all slave children in the spring of 1864, "I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, He wills to do it." So flexibility about Reconstruction should not deny the divine purpose of eliminating slavery (whatever practical steps might be called for in that elimination). Lincoln put this matter more starkly and vividly in the Second Inaugural by invoking the *lex talionis* ("an eye for an eye").

"EVERY DROP OF BLOOD"

PEOPLE who stress only Lincoln's final words about charity for all, about the healing of wounds, may think that Lincoln was calling for a fairly indiscriminate forgiveness toward the South, especially since he referred to the North's share in the guilt for slavery. But the appeal to "Gospel forgiveness" is preceded by a submission to "Torah judgment" and divine wrath -- an odd vehicle for a message of forgiveness. How seriously Lincoln took the *lex talionis* principle of punishment comes out in his Order of Retaliation, from July of 1863.

It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier should be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

Corpse for corpse would be the rule, and slave for slave. In the Second Inaugural, Lincoln imagined God performing the kind of harsh wartime act that he was driven to. Blood for blood is rendered in strict accountant's language: the verb "sunk" comes from the scheduling of sinking debts.

Yet, if God wills that it [war] continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as [it] was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether.

If anyone thought that Lincoln's principle of compromise must lead to moral relativism, this came as a strict reminder that justice must be done even in the partial and fumbling ways available to mankind. Otherwise divine punishment would be duly exacted.

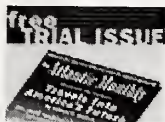
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FLEXIBLE STEEL

NO one can pretend to know what Reconstruction would have been like if Lincoln had lived, since he did not know himself, and he was open to experiment, reversal, and practical maneuvering. But the whole process would have been conducted in light of the Second Inaugural's recognition that slavery was the great national sin -- a view that Andrew Johnson did not share. Paying the cost of slavery was not something that would end with the war. It would be paid in the agony of defeated men deprived of the slave labor on which their prosperity depended. It would be paid in the effort to defend the freed blacks from white hostility and persecution. Lincoln asked for charity, but he knew that the healing of the nation's wounds would be a complex and demanding process, and no one could be smug about it. All sides would have to question their own moral credentials. They could not get an easy and overall answer to particular problems by saying that traitors deserved whatever they got, or that southerners, as erring citizens, should simply resume their former political status. If God's purposes were to be discerned, they would not be manifest at the outset, any more than they had been when the war began. They would have to be read, slowly and patiently, in the moral complexities of a developing situation.

It was a very delicate task that Lincoln had assigned himself in this speech. He performed something like the somersault of the Gettysburg Address. There he had said that his audience must not dedicate but *be* dedicated. Here he said that his audience must not judge but *be* judged. This entailed a very subtle appeal to the national psyche (which may be why he thought this speech perhaps superior to the earlier one). Americans must *be* judged in a comprehensive judgment binding on all -- God's judgment on slavery, which was to be worked out of the system with pains still counted in the nation's "sinking debt" of guilt. There was no "easy grace" of all-round good will in the

message. The speech was flexible, but it was flexible steel.

When we see what objects Lincoln had in mind for this speech, we recognize how skillfully he orchestrated his effects, moving to the goal of a *moral* flexibility -- with emphasis on morality -- to counter the suspicion that pragmatism meant the nation would settle for anything workable. The speech's first paragraph refuses to go into a basic discussion of the sort Lincoln had circumvented with his Proclamation of Amnesty. The second paragraph shows the futility of prior dogmatism with regard to the war. This is a beautifully rounded paragraph, its very symmetry showing the lack of effective action. It begins with a statement of the agreed-on goal of avoiding war, and ends with four dread monosyllables that mark that goal as unattainable: "And the war came."

Between the opening and the closing of the paragraph Lincoln stated again what all dreaded, all sought to avert -- only to describe how the two sides (while still holding that their acts should be "without war ... without war") diverged. The penultimate sentence recurs to the shared starting point (*both* still deprecated war), to show how even the limited agreement of the preceding sentence crumbled, one side making and the other accepting war. The effect of the passage is almost comic, a comedy of errors whose scurrying urgency undoes itself. Lincoln looked down from a great height on antlike efforts, establishing what the whole sequence might look like from God's vantage point, to which he had climbed by the end of the speech. Only at the end of the paragraph does the comedy of errors yield to tragedy in the lapidary last sentence. (I underline *twice* the shared hopes and *once* the diverging actions, to show how neatly they are balanced in this orderly presentation of disorder.)

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it -- all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

Having established that the war defeated all expectation, Lincoln mentioned the most unexpected turn of events -- the drastic change in the condition of slaves. Admittedly, "All knew that this interest was, *somehow*, the cause of the war" (emphasis added). But as the war ground on, the effect on slavery became its most far-reaching social result. Here Lincoln reversed the order of the preceding paragraph, in which he had moved from what all agreed on to what sundered them from one another. Here he began with the two sides' divergence ("to ... extend this interest" on the one side; "to restrict the territorial enlargement" on the other) and moved to the shared bafflement of hopes. This is a union of the two sides different from the first one -- different from the shared hope of avoiding war by action. Activity divided men. The passivity of suffering would rejoin them.

Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before [according to the progress of the Thirteenth Amendment], the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both sides felt that their basic values would not be disturbed, because both had come to terms with slavery -- as either unrestricted or merely restricted -- and thought that God had no stake in the matter.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other.... The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully.

"AMERICAN SLAVERY"

BETWEEN these two sentences of shared frustration Lincoln introduced a note of partial divergence. It is odd that people could think God wanted some people to steal the labor of others -- but he drew back from a total separation from the other side even here: "But let us judge not that we be not judged." He put the same thought, before deepening it, by quoting the gospel of Matthew (18:7) -- evil must, in God's mysterious providence, come into the world, but "woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." Here the guilt of the South is clear, but Lincoln's

next sentence shows that the guilt is for *American* slavery. Both North and South countenanced it -- in the Constitution, in the limited goal of restricting rather than eliminating such an injustice. This sentence is the first of three long ones that give his conclusion monumental scale, even in the short temporal space of this address. By its scale and weight, by an easy pace of magisterial utterance, it comes to us like a judgment handed down on the whole course of American history. The structure is marked out by grammatical parallels (*which/but which* and *to both/to those*).

If we shall suppose
 that American Slavery is one of those
 offences
 which, in the providence of God,
 must needs come,
 but which, having continued through His
 appointed time,
 He now wills to remove,
 and that He gives
 to both North and South,
 this terrible war, as the woe due
 to those by whom the offence came,
 shall we discern therein
 any departure from those divine attributes
 which the believers in a Living God
 always ascribe to Him?

This whole sentence is a meditation on the text of Matthew -- and the next long sentence will climb to an almost ecstatic citation of the Psalmist (19:9): "The judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether." This is the same Psalm that Lincoln alluded to in his letter to the Quaker Mrs. Gurney ("The law of the Lord is perfect," 19:7), showing its deep connection, for him, with this line of thought. Between Matthew above and the Psalmist below, Lincoln gave to his thought the sanction of both Old and New Testaments, both of them speaking here with minatory, not exculpatory, finality. But between these two great sentences he interjected a brief prayer, one marked by a modest recognition that what was prayed for might not correspond to God's will -- a note that marks this prayer off from the empty certitudes of the earlier prayers (by which both sides prayed to the same God).

Fondly do we hope --
 fervently do we pray --
 that this mighty scourge of war
 may speedily pass away.

Resignation to God's supervening will fills the next sentence, whose connections are made with tight internal parallels, as if riveting the judgment inexorably into place:
until all/until every ... piled by/drawn with/drawn with ... shall be sunk/shall be paid ... as was said/so still it must be said.

Yet, if God wills that it continue,
until all the wealth
piled by the bond-man's two hundred and
 fifty years
 of unrequited toil
shall be sunk,
 and until every drop of blood
drawn with the lash,
shall be paid by another
drawn with the sword,
as was said three thousand years ago,
so still it must be said
 "the judgments of the Lord, are true
 and righteous altogether."

The symmetries of retributive justice could not be better imaged than in this sentence's careful balancing of payments due. The war was winding down; but Lincoln summoned no giddy feelings of victory. A chastened sense of man's limits was the only proper attitude to bring to the rebuilding of the nation, looking to God for guidance but not aspiring to replace him as the arbiter of national fate.

The Gettysburg Address called people to be dedicated to "the great task remaining before us." The last sentence of the Second Inaugural supplied the moral music, as it were, with which the nation must "finish the work we are in."

With malice toward none;
 with charity for all;
 with firmness in the right,
 as God gives us to see the right,
 let us strive on
 to finish the work we are in;
 to bind up the nation's wounds;
 to care for him who shall have borne the
 battle,
 and for his widow,
 and his orphan --
 to do all which may achieve and cherish
 a just, and a lasting peace,
 among ourselves,

and with all nations.

Long as this sentence is, it is simple in structure, gliding down from the heights of the preceding period. Instead of the complex interconnections of the other long sentences, which have an internal dialectic, this one begins with simple anaphora in the three opening phrases (*with/with/with*), and then lines up four infinitives (*to finish/to bind/to care/to do*), the last one expanded into a coda. The tone is supplicating, like the sighing replications of a litany.

WHAT WE LOST

WHEN he had finished the speech, to somewhat puzzled cheers and applause, Lincoln took the oath of office. There was a solemnity here that had been lacking in the slobbery performance of Johnson's oath. The day's storm had yielded to dramatic meteorological effects during the speech. A peephole in the dark clouds let some see a bright star in midday. Sun slanted through the lattice of clouds with spotlighting effects. Whitman saw a "curious little white cloud ... like a hovering bird, right over him." Despite this breaking of the storm, Lincoln seemed "very much worn and tired" when Whitman saw his carriage returning, with only Lincoln and his ten-year-old son sitting in it. Later that evening, at the White House reception, Whitman noticed the same sad weariness in the expression of the President (which inhibited Whitman from going up to shake his hand).

Lincoln no doubt wondered how many, if any, understood the profound message he had crafted. The response of the crowd was proper, but the religious tone of the speech hardly called for jubilation. His tone puzzled the reporter from the New York *Herald* (Lincoln's grudging ally).

It was not strictly an inaugural address.... It was more like a valedictory.... Negroes ejaculated "bress de Lord" in a low murmur at the end of almost every sentence. Beyond this there was no cheering of any consequence. Even the soldiers did not hurrah much.

The *Herald* deplored the lack of specifics about peace terms and urgent problems. Harsher critics found, in the speech's paradoxes and subtlety, mere incoherence.

Lincoln expected some to dislike the address, not because they did not understand it but because they understood it

too well. In the letter to Thurlow Weed in which he called it as good as anything he had written, he continued,

I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told; and as whatever of humiliation there is in it, falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford [an occasion?] for me to tell it.

Before Inauguration Day was over, Lincoln was cheered by the realization that one man at least had understood his message. But that comfort was almost denied him, when guards at the White House tried first to turn Frederick Douglass away from the reception, and then to conduct him rapidly through before he could see the President. But Douglass caught the attention of another guest, and the guards let him alone. He went to the East Room, where Lincoln was receiving the guests.

Recognizing me, even before I reached him, he exclaimed, so that all around could hear him, "Here comes my friend Douglass." Taking me by the hand, he said, "I am glad to see you. I saw you in the crowd to-day, listening to my inaugural address; how did you like it?" I said, "Mr. Lincoln, I must not detain you with my poor opinion, when there are thousands waiting to shake hands with you." "No, no," he said, "you must stop a little, Douglass; there is no man in the country whose opinion I value more than yours. I want to know what you think of it?" I replied, "Mr. Lincoln, that was a sacred effort." "I am glad you liked it!" he said; and I passed on, feeling that any man, however distinguished, might well regard himself honored by such expressions, from such a man.

Douglass obviously did not see moral relativism or unprincipled pragmatism in the address. It laid the basis for a continuing exposition of the national purpose, an exposition interrupted by the assassin's bullet. That was, among other things, a blow to American literature. Lincoln had been growing as a writer and deepening as a thinker under the pressure of the war, which made him weight

every word with the fateful events impending on it. He was at the peak of his creativity when he wrote the Second Inaugural Address, fired in the crucible of his and the nation's ordeal.

But tragedy was shadowing things more important than our literary annals. The loss of Lincoln would scar our politics for decades. The sad pendant to the scene of Douglass's Inauguration Day meeting with Lincoln is the very next appearance Douglass made at the White House, as part of a black delegation that protested Johnson's opposition to suffrage for blacks in the District of Columbia. Johnson lectured the visitors on blacks' oppression of poor whites (whom Johnson considered his people). After Douglass left, Johnson exploded before his private secretary, who passed on his reaction to a sympathetic reporter. Johnson said, "Those damned sons of bitches thought they had me in a trap. I know that damned Douglass; he's just like any nigger, and he would sooner cut a white man's throat than not." It is clear that Lincoln's inaugural address did not reach the befuddled Vice President who sat behind him as he delivered it, though he was the man who most needed its message. The executive mansion was a darker place in every way when Lincoln was removed from it, and from us. The Second Inaugural is the towering measure of our loss.

*The online version of this article appears in three parts.
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Garry Wills is the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992). His book *A Necessary Evil: A History of American Distrust of Government* will be published in October.

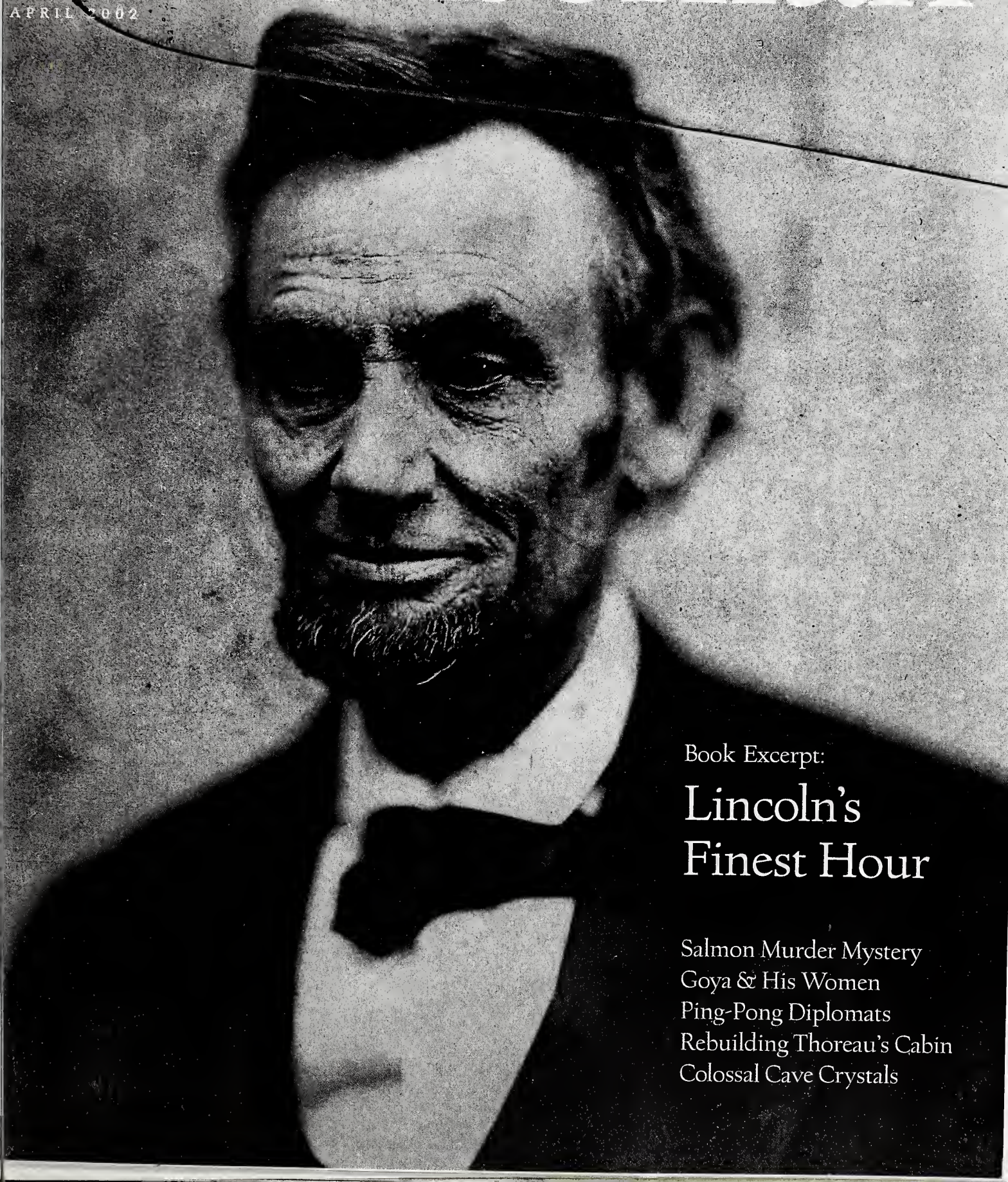
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Book Excerpt:

Lincoln's Finest Hour

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ABSENCE of MALICE

IN A NEW BOOK, HISTORIAN RONALD C. WHITE, JR., EXPLAINS WHY LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, GIVEN JUST WEEKS BEFORE HE DIED, WAS HIS GREATEST SPEECH

"For too long," says Ronald C. White, Jr., "Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address has lived under the shadow of the Gettysburg Address. And yet Lincoln thought this was his best effort." White does too. In his new book, *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*, excerpted here, the professor of American religious history at San Francisco Theological Seminary sees the speech as key to understanding Lincoln's greatness.

White's fascination with the 16th President was sparked at a 1993 seminar. "He was the average American, with only one year of education, a man who was really quite ugly in a certain sense—could he ever have campaigned today?—tall, awkward, gawky, clothes ill-fitting, with a tenor voice, almost a falsetto, and yet he was a huge man for his day, 6 feet 4 inches tall. Everything about him was against his being a powerful speaker. But once he

began to speak, what people sensed was his integrity. He was not playing a role. And the audience of that day picked it up." More than 130 years after Lincoln's assassination, that quality still moves people powerfully. "He had the knack of asking these simple but very profound questions. In every crisis, whether it's September 11 or World War II, it is amazing how people return to Lincoln."

By March 1865 (until 1937, Presidents were generally inaugurated in March), America had been flayed by four years of a war that had lasted longer than anyone thought it would, but whose end, at last, seemed in sight. Not since Andrew Jackson, 32 years before, had any President been elected for a second term, and, says White, "there had been no expectation of it. There had been a series of one-term Presidents with not much to commend them." Nor did those gathered to hear Lin-

The medium was in its infancy when Scottish photographer Alexander Gardner captured Lincoln (behind white table, on the Capitol's East Portico) giving his Second Inaugural.

Adapted from *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*, © 2002 by Ronald C. White, Jr.
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Lincoln

coln that rainy day—fans and detractors, newspaper reporters, Confederate deserters, black troops, plainclothes detectives fearful that Lincoln was going to be abducted—expect the 703-word speech the President delivered. What they heard was neither a recitation of achievement nor a statement of policy, but a sermon in which, White says, “Lincoln would ask his audience to think with him about the cause and meaning of the war.”

In the six-minute address, Lincoln used repetition and alliteration to give his sentences a cadence White likens to poetry. Five hundred of the words are of a single syllable, “but that doesn’t mean it’s simple.” An understated sentence such as “And the war came,” says White, lifts the conflict from human event to something with a life of its own “independent of Presidents, generals and soldiers.”

Now inscribed on the limestone walls of the Lincoln Memorial, the Second Inaugural Address can be understood, White believes, as a “culmination of Lincoln’s own struggle over the meaning of America, the meaning of the war, and his own struggle with slavery.”

And, he adds, as a blueprint for tolerance. “Lincoln hoped that this speech was laying the groundwork for a reconstruction of compassion and reconciliation.”

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN HAD every reason to be hopeful as inauguration day, March 4, 1865, approached. The Confederacy was splintered, if not shattered. On February 1, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman led sixty thousand troops out of Savannah. Slashing through South Carolina, they wreaked havoc in the state that had been the seedbed of secession. To celebrate victories in Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina, and Wilmington, North Carolina, Lincoln ordered a nighttime illumination in Washington. Crowds celebrated these achievements in song as the harbinger of the end of the hostilities.

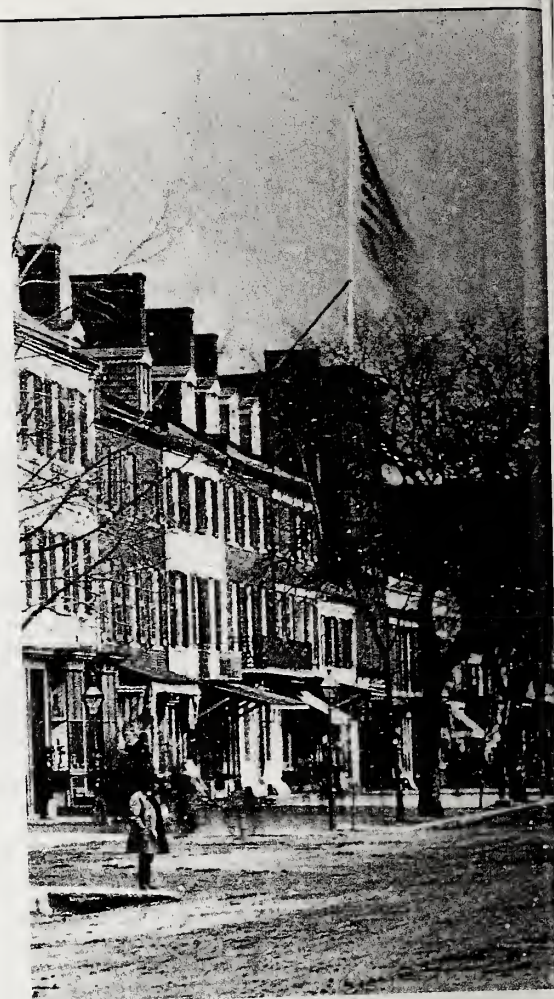
At the same time, Union General

Ulysses S. Grant was besieging Petersburg, Virginia, twenty miles south of Richmond. Despite Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s previous record for forestalling defeat, it was clear that the badly outnumbered Confederates could not hold out much longer. Everything pointed toward victory.

Apprehension intruded upon this hopeful spirit. Rumors were flying about the capital that desperate Confederates, now realizing that defeat was imminent, would attempt to abduct or assassinate the president. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton took extraordinary precautions. All roads leading to Washington had been heavily picketed for some days and the bridges patrolled with “extra vigilance.” The 8th Illinois Cavalry was sent out from Fairfax Court House with orders to look for “suspicious characters.” The problem was greatly complicated by the presence of large numbers of Confederate deserters who now roamed the capital. Stanton posted sharpshooters on the buildings that would ring the inaugural ceremonies. Plainclothes detectives roved the city keeping track of questionable persons.

After four years as a war president, Lincoln could look ahead to four years as a peace president. With no Congress in session until December to hamper him, he would have free rein to do some peacemaking on his own. Gamblers were even betting that the sixteenth president would be inaugurated for a third term in 1869. The president, who had been battered by critics in Congress and the press for much of the war, was finally beginning to receive credit for his leadership. Many were suggesting that the stakes were about to get higher. Would Lincoln, the resourceful commander-in-chief, guide a reunited nation during what was beginning to be called “Reconstruction”?

As the day for his second inauguration drew near, everyone wondered what the president would say. No one



seemed to know anything about the content of Lincoln’s speech. A dispatch from the Associated Press reported that the address would be “brief—not exceeding, probably, a column in length.” It was recalled that he took thirty-five minutes to deliver his First Inaugural Address. The *New York Herald* reported that “the address will probably be the briefest one ever delivered.” Another report said the address would take only five to eight minutes.

If reports about the length of the address were correct, how would Lincoln deal with questions that were multiplying? Would he use his rhetorical skills to take the hide off his opponents in the South and North? Was the Confederate States of America to be treated as a con-



Construction of the Capitol's iron dome (here, c. 1867) was halted in 1861. Resumed at Lincoln's insistence despite the war, it came to symbolize the perpetuation of the Union.

quered nation? How did one demarcate between the innocent and the guilty, between citizens and soldiers? What would Lincoln say about the slaves? They had been emancipated but what about suffrage?

All of these questions involved complex constitutional issues. Lincoln had used a good portion of his First Inaugural to argue carefully and logically his understanding of the indissoluble Union in light of the Constitution. The *New York World*, a New York City newspaper that had been a thorn in his side all through the war, contended that the Second Inaugural Address "ought to be the most significant and reassuring of all his public utterances."

Just beneath the outward merry-

making lay a different emotion. A weariness of spirit pervaded the nation. Government officials were fatigued from four long years of war. The agony of battle took its toll on families everywhere. Many citizens were filled with as much anger as hope. Even the anticipation of victory could not compensate for the loss of so many young men, cut down in death or disabled by horrible wounds just as they were preparing to harvest the fruits of their young lives.

And death and despair reached into nearly every home. An estimated 623,000 men died in the Civil War. One out of eleven men of service age was killed between 1861 and 1865. Comparisons with Americans killed in other wars bring the horror home. In World

War I, the number killed was 117,000. In World War II, 405,000 died. In the Korean War, the death toll was 54,000. In the war in Vietnam, the number of Americans killed was 58,000. Deaths in the Civil War almost equal the number killed in all subsequent wars.

For example, New Braintree, Massachusetts, with a population of 805 shopkeepers, laborers, farmers, and their families, sent 78 young men to fight; 10 did not return. Phillipston, Massachusetts, population 764, dispatched 76 of its young citizens to fight; 9 died on battlefields. The people of Auburn, Massachusetts watched 97 soldiers go off to war; they would mourn the 15 who never returned. The people of the United States in the early 1860s felt the impact of war in their small communities. Had World War II produced the same proportion of deaths as did the Civil War, more than two and a half million men would have died.

Washington had never seen so many people as those who converged on the capital for Lincoln's second inauguration. Trains roared and smoked over the double tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio. The *Washington Daily National Intelligencer* reported, "Every train was crowded to repletion." Visitors were greeted by a band playing "The Battle Cry of Freedom." Each day the Washington newspapers listed the notables who were arriving. All knew they were coming to witness a unique event.

Hotels were overflowing. Willard's, the grand five-story hotel at Pennsylvania Avenue and Fourteenth Street, set up cots in its halls and parlors. The Metropolitan and the National were filled. "The hotels are literally shelving their guests," reported the correspondent for the *New York Times*. Lincoln-Johnson Clubs lodged more than a thousand visitors. Firehouses offered sleeping spaces.

Friends and supporters of the president, who was beleaguered during much of his first term, now declared

Abraham Lincoln

that the recent events vindicated his leadership. In an editorial published in inauguration morning, the *Illinois Daily State Journal*, a friend of Lincoln's from his earliest campaigns as a legislator, declared, "All honor to Abraham Lincoln through whose honesty, fidelity, and patriotism, those glorious results [of the war] have been achieved." The *Chicago Tribune*, also a staunch supporter, proclaimed that "Mr. Lincoln . . . has slowly and steadily risen in the respect, confidence, and admiration of the people."

This second inauguration, so some of his supporters argued, ought to be a time for Lincoln to crow a bit. The *Daily Morning Chronicle* agreed. "We shall not be surprised if the President does not, in the words he will utter this morning, point to the pledges he gave us in his inaugural of 1861, and claim that he has not departed from them in a single substantial instance."

In spite of the inclement weather, Friday morning, March 3, visitors crowded the streets of the capital, where spring rains had just begun to turn the grass from winter brown to green. Chestnuts and elms, planted at the turn of the century, were not quite in bloom. Cherry blossoms would not be known in the capital until early in the next century. Nothing could hide the disorder and dirt that were everywhere. The national capital, scarcely six decades old, remained an almost-city. Charles Dickens, on his first visit to the United States, in 1842, had called Washington "the City of Magnificent Intentions." He described it as "spacious avenues, that begin in nothing, and lead nowhere; streets, mile-long, that only want houses, roads, and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete."

When Lincoln had first come to the city as an Illinois congressman in December 1847, Washington had barely thirty-five thousand residents. The 1860 census counted 61,100 inhabitants. Thirteen cities ranked ahead of the capital in

population. Most people would add that these cities also surpassed the capital in civility and culture. "If you want to be disgusted with the place chosen for the Capital of your country," wrote a visitor from Philadelphia, "visit it in the spring time, near the close of four days' rain, when the frost is beginning to come out of the ground. Whatever other objects of interest may attract your notice, the muddy streets and pavements will scarcely escape you."

The leading objects of interest were the Capitol building with its new iron dome, the Executive Mansion, the Post-Office, the Patent Office, and the Treasury. European visitors dismissed the White House as an ordinary country house. A great problem with the White House was its location near the Potomac Flats. This dismal body of water was held responsible for the outbreaks of malaria that occurred in summer and autumn. The Smithsonian Institution stood alone as a museum. A tour of all the important buildings in Washington could be completed in an afternoon.

The staggering number of war wounded and dying could not be confined to the city's hospitals. They could be found in hotels, warehouses, also schools, and lodges of fraternal orders. Georgetown College was turned into a hospital. Many private homes, and most churches, took in wounded. On Independence Day, 1862, some church bells could not be rung because the wounded lay beneath the bells.

The Patent Office held injured Union soldiers. Visitors to the Smithsonian could hardly miss the huge Armory Square Hospital nearby, which was in fact a series of parallel sheds. Even the Capitol building had been transformed into a hospital, two thousand cots placed in corridors and even in the Rotunda.

As Friday evening wore on, a dense fog descended over the capital followed by more rain, yet even the dismal weather could not dampen the spirits of

the visitors. Among the arrivals were three fire companies from Philadelphia, nearly three hundred men dressed smartly in black fire hats, coats, and pants, and eye-catching red shirts. The capital became musical with military bands and serenaders. High in the fog, the lights of the now completed Capitol building created the effect of a halo over the festivities.

Within the government, there was no time yet for celebration. Lincoln met Friday night with his cabinet until a late hour, working to finish business related to the last acts of the outgoing 38th Congress. The Senate had been meeting all day and continued its session into the evening. As tempers flared and energy sagged, this legislative all-nighter became a strange prelude to the inaugural ceremonies on the morrow.

March 4 dawned with incessant rain as more visitors poured into the city, many arriving aboard special trains the railroad companies had prepared to accommodate them. The streets oozed with soft mud, described by locals as "black plaster." The Corps of Engineers surveyed the scene to determine the practicality of laying pontoons on Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House. They found the bottom too unstable to hold the anchors of the needed boats. The project was abandoned. During the early-morning hours, gale winds whipped through the city, uprooting trees.

The Senate and House worked on until seven o'clock in the morning. On one occasion a sudden burst of rain suggested "an explosion inside the building," causing many "to run towards the doors." The leaders of the House and Senate convinced the members to come back to their seats.

Fog continued to hang over the city as the crowd began arriving at the east entrance of the Capitol, with its radiant iron dome topped by its statue, *Armed Liberty*. (Despite the war, Lincoln had insisted that the work on the dome



Casualties of war (such as these Union soldiers in the Armory Square Hospital) crowded Washington's hospitals and public buildings.

proceed; its completion represented his hope that one day all the states and their representatives would meet again to do the nation's business.) Carriages were in great demand. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that the arriving throng was present "in force sufficient to have struck terror into the heart of Lee's army (had the umbrellas been muskets)." As visitors and residents walked toward the Capitol, they encountered military patrols on horseback at every major intersection.

Some in the crowd remembered quite a different scene four years earlier. Trepidation and gloom had clouded March 4, 1861. Everything seemed in disarray. Sections of the dome lay jum-

bled near the inauguration stand, waiting for fitting. On his way from Illinois to assume the presidency two weeks before, Lincoln had to be spirited through Baltimore in disguise to avoid abduction. This episode, of which Lincoln was not proud, humiliated his supporters. Cartoonists ridiculed him, adding to the venom that was already spewing out in some of the press reports on the president-elect.

On the Saturday of the second inaugural, the rain stopped at nine-thirty. By ten-thirty, the skies were clearing. Then, at ten-forty, torrential rains came again. Open windows, crammed with sightseers, had to be slammed shut. Women tied their white hand-

kerchiefs to their bonnets. Noah Brooks, correspondent for the *Sacramento Daily Union*, wrote that "Flocks of women streamed around the Capitol, in most wretched plight; crinoline was smashed, skirts bedaubed, and moiré antique, velvet, laces and such dry goods were streaked with mud from end to end." What should have been a brightly dressed gathering appeared instead thoroughly bedraggled by the elements of mud and wind. But as the reporter for the *New York Herald* observed, "The crowd was good-natured." They were there to participate in these grand events.

The ceremonial procedures would not differ substantially from Lincoln's

Lincoln

first inauguration. Yet there were differences. Instead of the small clusters of soldiers in 1861, large numbers of military could be observed throughout the city. In certain sections of the capital, multiplying numbers of Confederate deserters could be seen. Twelve hundred and thirty-nine disheartened Confederate soldiers had arrived in February. All the soldiers were marked by their wounds. Amputation had become the trademark of Civil War surgery. According to federal records, three out of four operations were amputations. Too often the surgery had to be repeated. Many visitors professed shock at the sight of so many young men with amputated legs or arms.

Black soldiers had changed the composition of the army from 1861 to 1865. For the first two years of the war, the Union Army was all white. Lincoln had initiated the North's employment of African-American troops when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The use of black troops prompted protests both in the North and in the South, but 179,000 black soldiers and ten thousand sailors would serve in the Union forces before the end of the war. By inauguration day, black soldiers had become a common sight in Washington.

The presence of so many blacks in the inaugural crowds particularly struck the correspondent for the *Times* of London. He estimated that "at least half the multitude were colored people. It was remarked by everybody, stranger as well as natives, that there never had been such crowds of negroes in the capital." Whereas many in the crowds, because of the mud, were dressed in "old clothes," African Americans, despite the dismal weather, were noticeable also because of their dress "in festive reds, blues, and yellows, and very gaudy colors."

By midmorning, the inaugural parade, which preceded the swearing in ceremonies in Lincoln's time, was

forming. Grand Marshal Ward Lamon, an old friend from Illinois, went to the White House to escort the president to the Capitol. Lamon had arranged to have thirteen brightly clothed United States marshals and thirteen citizen marshals accompany Lincoln's carriage. Lamon did not know that Lincoln had driven off to the Capitol earlier in the morning to sign some bills, abandoning the usual protocol. As one observer noted, the parade was "the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out."

The procession began to move at



Mary Todd Lincoln (in an undated photograph) received the Bible on which her husband swore his oath of office.

11 a.m. from the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Tenth Street. At the front marched 119 metropolitan policemen. Union soldiers, many in shabby blue uniforms, followed. The three companies of volunteer firemen from Philadelphia were a hit with their smart uniforms. Chicago firemen drew their engine while they marched, as did companies from other cities. Local pride soared when the Fire Department of the City of Washington followed with its horse-drawn steam engines.

Far down the parade line was something never before witnessed at a presidential inauguration. Four companies of black soldiers, members of the 45th Regiment United States Colored Troops, marched smartly. Immediately following was a lodge of African-American Odd Fellows, a fraternal organization. The crowd cheered.

Next in line came a series of floats, patriotic but a bit dowdy. First was the Temple of Liberty, a tent made out of muslin, now soggy. The original intention had been to surround the tent with young "maidens" from each state of the Union. The rain prompted the float's organizers to replace the young girls with boys. The boys entertained the crowd by singing patriotic songs such as "Rally Round the Flag" and "The Battle Cry of Freedom." The next float—drawn by four white horses, soon spattered with mud—presented by members of the Lincoln-Johnson Club of East Washington, bore a replica of the iron warship *Monitor*.

The crowd buzzed as the third float, carrying an operational printing press, came into view. Staff members of the *Daily Morning Chronicle* busily printed a four-page inaugural newspaper that contained a program for the day, copies of which were tossed to the spectators on both sides of the avenue.

The special marshals and the President's Union Light Guard escorted Mrs. Lincoln. The crowd cheered the presidential coach along the route from the White House to the Capitol, not knowing that the president was not present.

After a festive beginning, the parade suddenly came to a halt in a snarled confusion of horses, troops, and fire engines. Following twenty minutes without movement, an impatient Mary Lincoln commanded her driver to pull out and proceed by a back way to the Capitol. The parade finally resumed, now without either the president or the president's wife.

Posters, ribbons, ferrotypes, medals,



By 1862, Lincoln viewed the arming of African-American troops as an "indispensable necessity" to avoid a defeat of the Union.

and tokens prepared for the 1864 presidential campaign were visible everywhere. One medal was inscribed "A Foe to Traitors," while another read "No Compromise with Armed Rebels." An 1864 campaign ribbon captured the now clearly understood twin goals of the war: "Union and Liberty." Another medal was inscribed "Freedom to All Men / War for the Union." The theme of human rights was captured in tokens. One side read "Lincoln," and on the other side was "Proclaim Liberty Throughout the Land." Another read "Lincoln and Liberty" on one side and, on the other, "Freedom/Justice/Truth."

The committee on arrangements was taking measures to move the inaugural ceremonies into the Senate chamber, in case the weather didn't improve. A decision to do so would be a great disappointment to the tens of thousands massing outside. At ten o'clock, the Senate galleries had opened and spectators rushed to secure seats. The press gallery of the Senate was crowded with reporters from across the nation. Undaunted by the mud on their grand skirts, women were settled above the assemblage in the ladies' gallery.

On the Senate floor, senators con-

versed with government officials and celebrity guests. Many eyes were riveted on the military heroes Admiral David G. Farragut and General Joseph Hooker. The diplomatic corps was resplendent in uniforms replete with gold lace and decorations. The air grew muggy. The ventilating system of the Capitol was insufficient to deal with the moisture and humidity. As more and more people crowded the Senate floor and galleries in their rain-soaked clothes, the temperature rose.

At eleven-forty-five, the official procession began to file into the chamber. The retiring vice-president, Hannibal Hamlin, and the vice-president-elect, Andrew Johnson, walked in together. The reporter for the *New York Herald* observed that Johnson, leaning on Hamlin's arm, was unsteady, but concluded that the likely reason was excitement. Lincoln was still signing bills in the president's room just off the Senate chamber.

At twelve o'clock, Hamlin, who had complained that the vice-presidency was a powerless job, began his farewell speech. Secretary of State William Seward and members of the Cabinet interrupted Hamlin's short speech as they

arrived to take their seats. Next came the chief justice, Salmon P. Chase, leading in eight black-gowned elderly men, who took their places before the presiding officer's desk. Senators asked the vice-president to ask the women in the galleries to stop their "disrespectful giggling and chatter," but the request had no effect. Hamlin resumed his speech, only to be interrupted yet again when Mary Lincoln took her seat in the diplomatic gallery. Guests continued to arrive as he concluded.

Andrew Johnson was introduced and rose to give his inaugural speech. Lincoln had left the choice of a vice-president to the convention. Johnson, a war Democrat from Tennessee, had been chosen as Lincoln's running mate to symbolize the transformation of the Republican Party in 1864 into a National Union party. Lincoln had admired Johnson's courage in adhering to the Union after his state seceded. In the nineteenth century, the vice-president commanded less stature and visibility than today. Although two presidents, William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor, had died in office, accession to the presidency had not been a consideration in Johnson's nomination.

Lincoln

Lincoln arrived and took his seat in the Senate chamber as Johnson began to speak. No one in the chamber was aware of how Johnson had spent the hour before his speech. He had not been well for several weeks, and the trip from Nashville to Washington had only made things worse. The morning of the inauguration, he went to the vice-president's office in the Capitol to await the official ceremony. Feeling unwell, he asked for some whisky. He filled his glass and drank it straight. On the way to the Senate chamber he had another. And then a third.

At the new vice-president's first utterance, it became obvious to all that Andy Johnson was drunk. The traditional brief inaugural speech of the vice-president became a rambling affair. Trumpeting that he had risen to this high office from the masses, he instructed all present that they owed their positions to the people. He did not even address the Cabinet members by their titles. The assembled dignitaries and guests were shocked. Attorney General James Speed whispered to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, "The man is certainly deranged." He

then sat with his eyes closed. Welles in turn whispered to Stanton, "Johnson is either drunk or crazy."

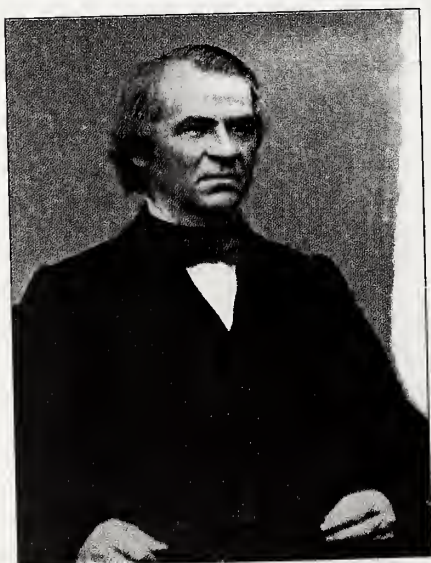
The *New York Herald* later reported that Johnson delivered "a speech remarkable for its incoherence which brought a blush to the cheek of every senator and official of the government." Johnson, scheduled to speak for seven minutes, spoke for seventeen. Finally, Hamlin pulled at Johnson's coat tail and the tribulation ended. But not quite. After Johnson took the oath of office, he put his hand on the Bible and said in a blaring voice, "I kiss this Book in the face of my nation of the United States." He followed his words with a drunken kiss. Lincoln bent over to Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri, a marshal for the inauguration, and whispered, "Do not let Johnson speak outside."

At eleven-forty the rain had suddenly ceased, and arrangements were completed to hold the ceremonies outside. President Lincoln was escorted through a corridor to the temporary wood platform that extended from the east front of the Capitol. Noah Brooks, who was Lincoln's friend as well as correspondent for the *Sacramento Daily*

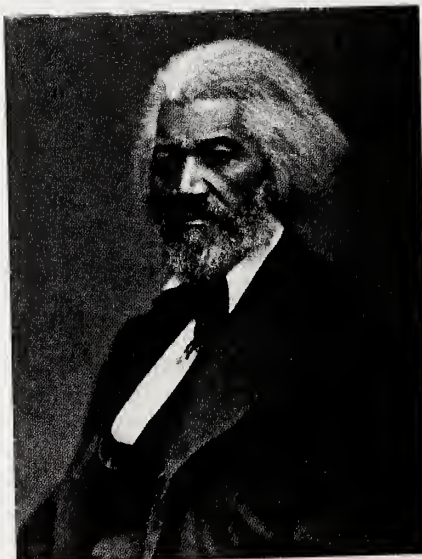
Union, described the immense crowd as a "sea of heads. As far as the eye could see, the throng looked like waves breaking at its outer edges."

Soldiers were dispersed throughout the crowd. Some had come in uniform from the camps. Many more came from area hospitals. Lincoln was always the soldiers' president. He liked to mingle with enlisted men and often visited wounded soldiers. The military personnel had returned a 75 percent vote for him in his re-election the previous November. Now thousands of them were present to witness the inauguration of their president.

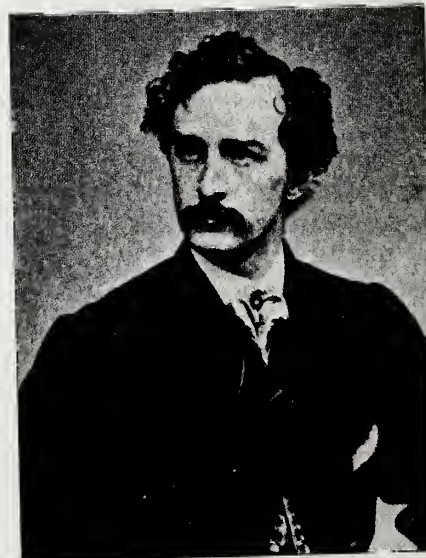
In the crowd, Lincoln recognized Frederick Douglass, the articulate African-American abolitionist leader, reformer, and newspaper editor. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address had dismayed Douglass. He had found Lincoln's words much too conciliatory toward the South. Douglass visited Lincoln in the White House in 1863 and again in 1864 to speak with the president about a variety of issues concerning African Americans. Douglass's attitudes about the president during the Civil War had whipsawed back and forth from disgust



In the Senate chamber, a drunken Andrew Johnson sealed his oath of office as Vice President with an emotional kiss.



Frederick Douglass, disheartened by Lincoln's first inaugural compromise on slavery, approached the second warily.



Lincoln-hater John Wilkes Booth, who had been planning to kidnap the President, was among the crowd of Capitol onlookers.

Lincoln



On Inauguration Day, ten inches of mud covered the avenues, making the inevitably filthy streets of Washington worse than usual.

to respect, and from despair to hope.

Up behind the right buttress stood the actor John Wilkes Booth. Lincoln had seen Booth perform at Ford's Theatre the previous November. Booth, twenty-six years old, had been an actor since he was seventeen. Seething with hatred, Booth had been working on a plan to abduct Lincoln and take him to Richmond. Now that the South's military fortunes had taken a turn for the worse, Booth resolved that stronger measures were needed. He was in touch with the Southern Secret Service as he sought an opportunity to do something "heroic" for the South. He came to hear the Second Inaugural for his own dark motives. He must have wondered, what would this false president say?

When Lincoln was introduced, the crowd exploded. Brooks reported, "A roar of applause shook the air, and again, and again repeated." The military band played "Hail to the Chief," helping to build the enthusiasm of the gathering.

The applause and cheers rolled toward those in the farthest reaches of the crowd. Finally, George T. Browne, sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, arose and bowed with black hat in hand, a signal for the crowd to become still.

Abraham Lincoln rose from his chair. He stepped from underneath the shelter of the Capitol building and out past the magnificent Corinthian columns. At fifty-six, he looked older than his years. He advanced to a small, white iron table, the single piece of furniture on the portico. We do not know how it got there. It well may be that its maker, Major Benjamin Brown French, a Lincoln admirer, simply placed it there. The table, made out of pieces from the dome's construction, symbolized for French the reuniting of the fragments of the Union. A lone tumbler of water stood on the little table.

As Lincoln rose, he put on and adjusted his steel-rimmed eyeglasses. He held in his left hand his Second Inaugural Address, printed in two columns.

The handwritten draft had been set in type. The galley proof was clipped and pasted in an order to indicate pauses for emphasis and breathing.

Precisely as Lincoln began to speak, the sun broke through the clouds. Many persons, at the time and for years after, commented on this celestial phenomenon. Michael Shiner, an African-American mechanic in the naval shipyard in Washington, recorded his awe in his diary entry for March 4: "As soon as Mr. Lincoln came out the wind ceased blowing and the rain ceased raining and the Sun came out and it became clear as it could be and calm." Shiner continued: "A star made its appearance . . . over the Capitol and it shined just as bright as it could be." Brooks reported the same phenomenon. "Just at that moment the sun, which had been obscured all day, burst forth in its unclouded meridian splendor, and flooded the spectacle with glory and with light."

Lincoln prepared to speak:

THE SECOND INAUGURAL

MARCH 4, 1865

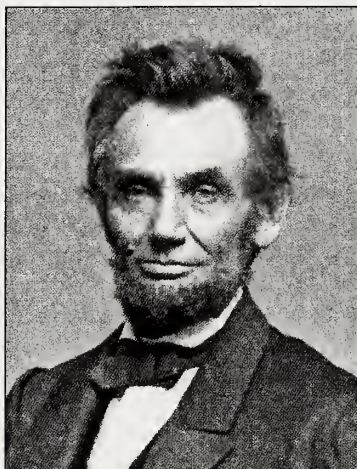
FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: AT THIS SECOND APPEARING, TO take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies [sic] of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural [sic] address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve [sic] the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the

sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which,

in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until



every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether[.]"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

That night, at a reception at the White House, the President sought out abolitionist Frederick Douglass. "I saw you in the crowd today, listening to my inaugural address," Lincoln said. "How did you like it?"

Douglass demurred. "I must not detain you with my poor opinion," he said. But Lincoln pressed on.

"There is no man in the country whose opinion I value more than yours," he said. "I want to know what you think of it."

"Mr. Lincoln," Douglass replied, "that was a sacred effort."

Forty-one days later, on April 15, 1865, Lincoln was dead.

WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who has borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan - to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all the nations."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Second Inaugural Address
March 4, 1865 - Washington, D. C.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

" The Almighty has His own purposes, woe unto the world because of offenses ! For it needs be that offenses come; but woe unto the man by whom the offense cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which believers in a living God always ascribe to Him ? Fondly do we hope - fervently do we pray - that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, " the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

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Washington, D. C.
March 4, 1865

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MARCH 4, 1865.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

3

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